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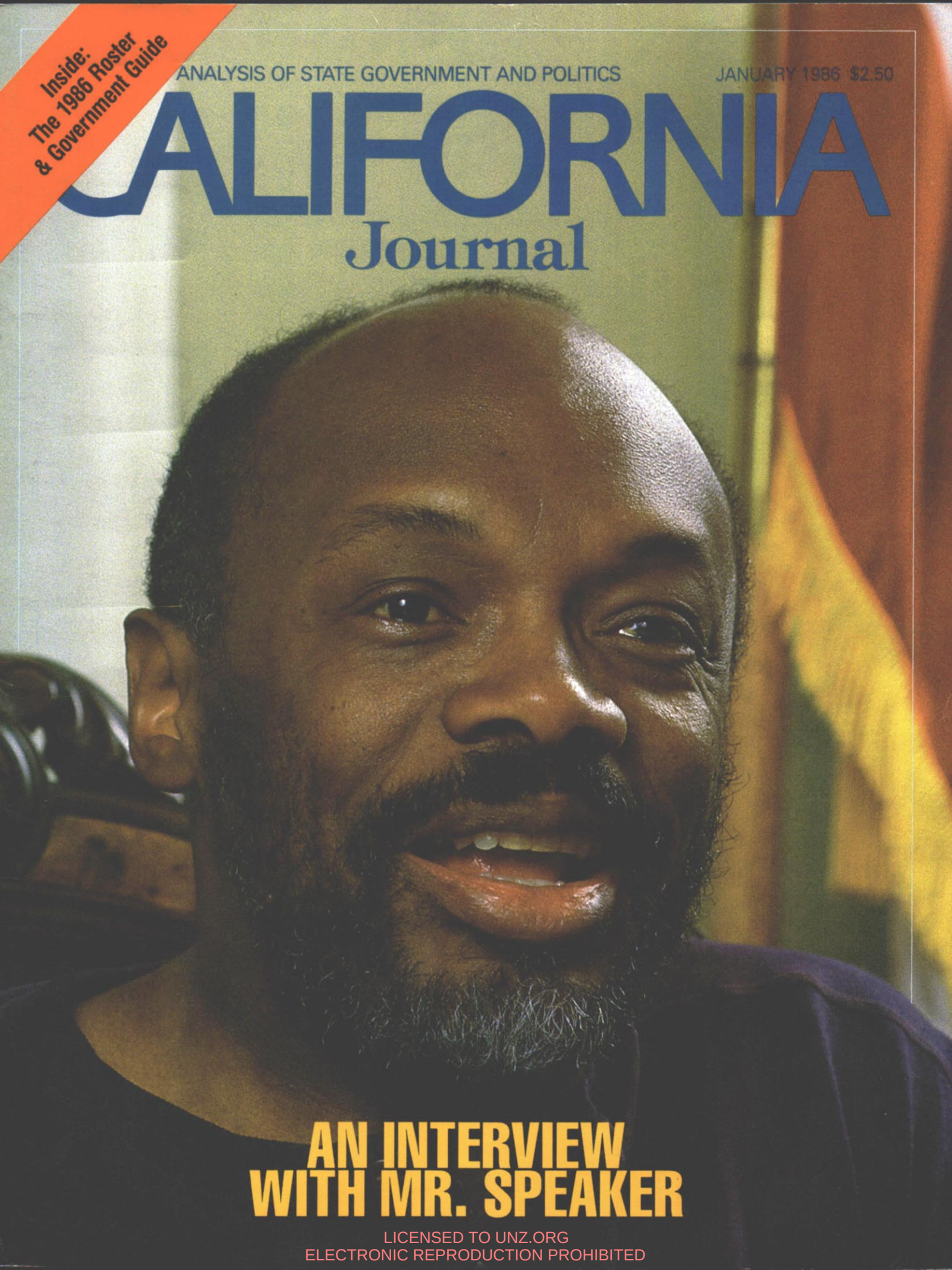
The 1986 Roster
& Government Guide

ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

JANUARY 1986 $2.50

CALIFORNIA Journal



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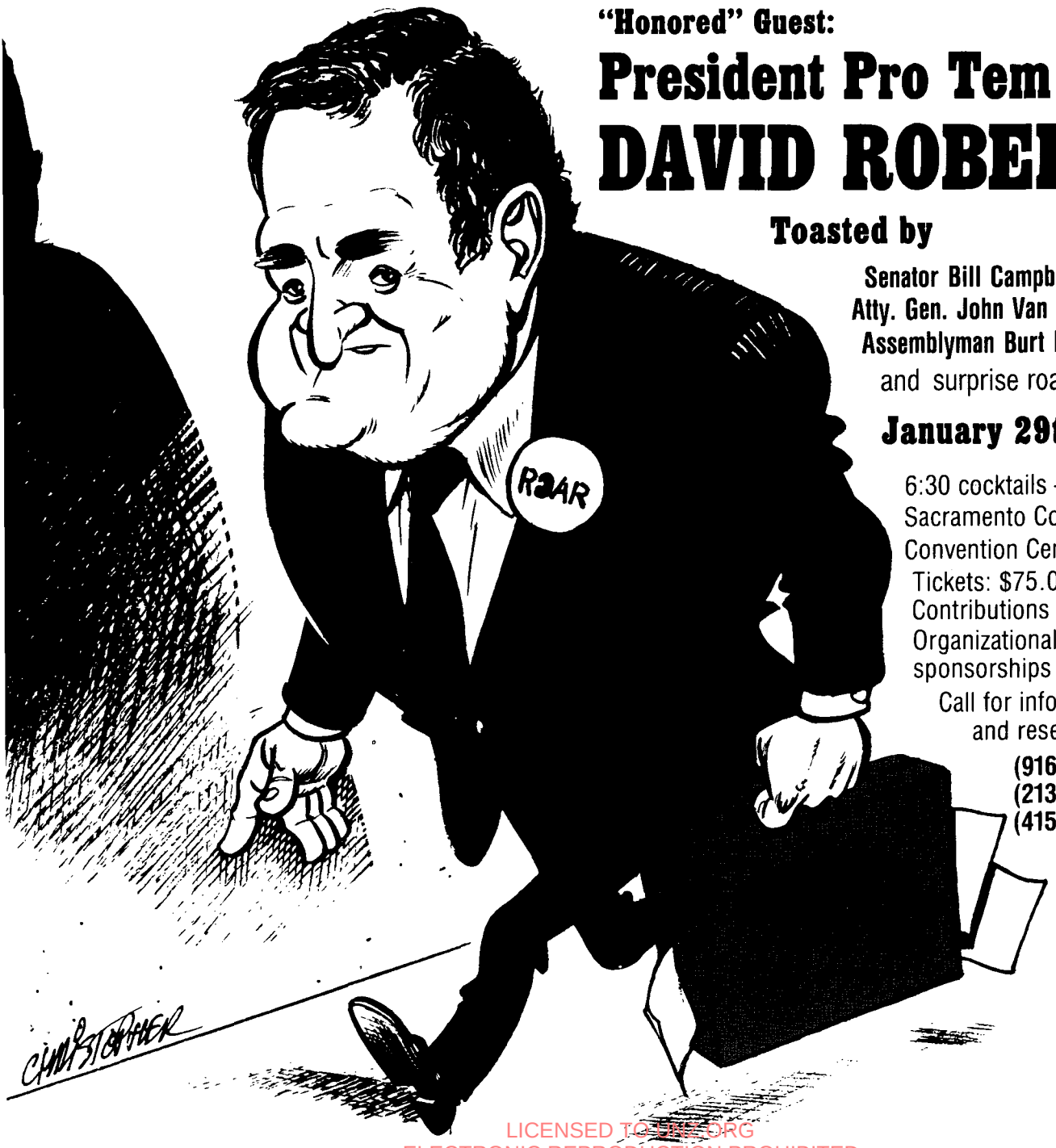

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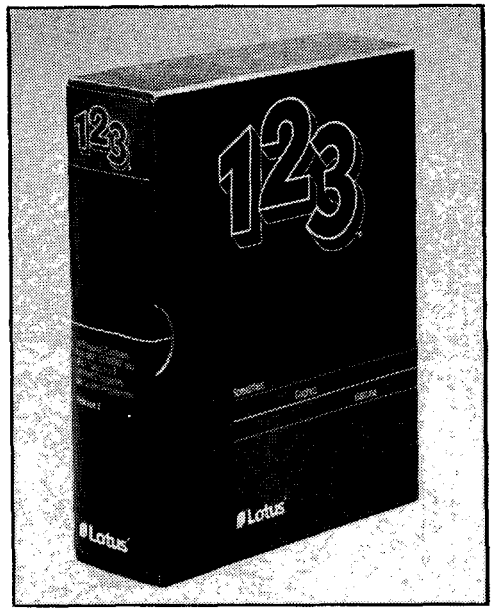

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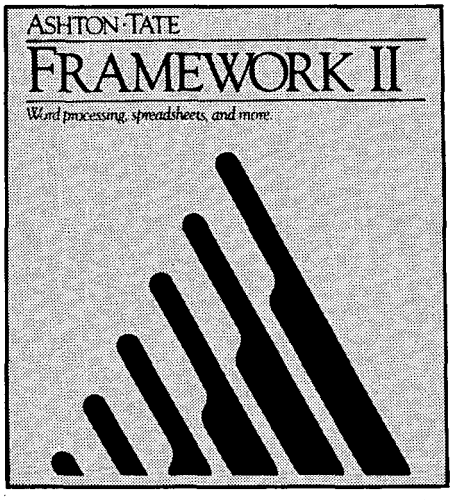

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Framework II also supports the Lotus/Intel enhanced-memory standard, making its spreadsheet both larger and faster—almost twice as fast as **Framework.** Its macro library allows you to automate commonly-used sequences of functions, and store the macros. Users can also go beyond standard RAM limits imposed by current PC architecture, by accessing additional workspace from either a hard disk, or an add-on memory board. Another unique feature is its ability to produce files in WordStar® and MultiMate® formats whenever you wish.

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Cover Photo By Rich Pedroncelli

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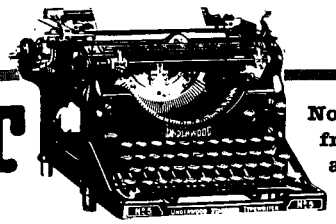
UP FRONT



Notes and Items from Contributors and the Journal Staff.

Wishful thinking department. Los Angeles' Dorothy Jonas is an outspoken member of the state's Commission on the Status of Women. And she didn't like it when White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan had less-than-prudent things to say about the women's view of nuclear-arms talks between his boss and the other most-powerful man in the world. So she sent off a nasty press release, on Commission stationery, which probably didn't sit right with the Deukmejian administration, which after all, doesn't want to offend any nationally important Republicans — just in case somebody needs a Californian for vice president in 1988. Still, it's probably just coincidential that the next week the governor's office put out a press release announcing a new member of the Commission, who would be replacing Jonas. The problem was that Jonas hadn't resigned. Josephine Mena of Fresno had resigned. The governor's press office put out a quick correction, and press aide Kevin Brett insists the mistake "wasn't intentional, by any means." "It wasn't even subconscious," he adds.

Senate Democrats have been beating their chests about how, at all costs, they will hold on to the Kern County Senate seat being vacated by veteran Walter Stiern. Only problem is, the man President Pro Tempore David Roberti thought would run against Republican Assemblyman Don Rogers of Bakersfield, Tom Fallgatter, decided against it, as did Assemblyman Jim Costa of Fresno. But Roberti forces think they may have found a last-minute winner in Kern Community College District Chancellor Jim Young of Arvin — assuming Young can first beat Pasadena businessman-minister Morris Fisher, a former city councilman.

(Bruce Scheidt, Sacramento)

No state has ever had more than 45 members in the U.S. House of Representatives. But by 1990 California could be the first to ever go over that mark, according to projections by a new Democratic Party organization — Project 500. That group estimates that, when the new census is completed, California will be entitled to another three to five house seats. The state now has 45 representatives, as did New York from 1930 to 1950. New York's share declined to its present 34 as the nation's population shifted west and south. Since 1910 House membership has been fixed at 435. If the predictions are accurate, California would control between 11 and 11.5 percent of the House of Representatives.

(Martin Salditch, Washington)

Senator Robert Beverly of Manhattan Beach wasn't paying much attention as he dialed the five-digit telephone extension he thought would connect him with a

fellow Republican, Senator William Campbell of Hacienda Heights. When the connection was made the following conversation ensued.

Beverly: "This is Senator Beverly. Is he in?"

Voice on the phone: "Hello."

Beverly (not recognizing the voice): "Who's this?"

Voice on the phone: "George."

Beverly: "George who?"

Voice on the phone: "George Deukmejian."

Our intrepid correspondent has no information on the rest of the conversation.

(Jerry Haleva, Sacramento)

Be it ever so humble. Senate Minority Leader Jim Nielsen has finally bowed to the inevitable and established a legal residence in Rohnert Park near Santa Rosa, part of his new Fourth Senate District. When that district was drawn up by Democrats during the last round of reapportionment, Nielsen's Woodland home was put into another district. Lest anyone think Nielsen wants to develop too close an affinity with his new Sonoma County constituents, Nielsen, in a press release, made it clear his new residence will be used only "when he is traveling in the district and during recess." His family, and his residence during session, will remain in Woodland, about 20 miles from the state Capitol.

Every candidate needs a gimmick. Would-be congressman Tom Skornia, who thinks he's the ideal person to replace Sunnyvale's Ed Zschau, who in turn wants to replace Alan Cranston in the U.S. Senate, found a new one for his formal announcement of candidacy. He held his press conference between performances of the San Jose City Center Ballet's production of the "Nutcracker." Skornia played the role of the Italian padre in the production.

You remember George Deukmejian. He's the man whose name was featured so prominently on Halloween trick-or-treat bags distributed last October by what used to be known simply as the "Office of Criminal Justice Planning," but is now apparently known as the "Governor's Office of Criminal Justice Planning." Seems that group can't let a major holiday pass with the public unprotected. In addition to holiday safety-tip flyers — again reminding us of that fellow George — the folks at GOCJP have seen fit to revise a few holiday tunes. An example follows (to the tune of "Jingle Bells"):

Holiday times are here
They are times for fun and play
Gifts and food and friends
Laughing all the day.

Let's make our homes secure
Lighting up the night
So when we get back home again
Things are still all right.

Oh, jingle bells, jingle bells
Jingle all the way.
Practice good prevention rules
During the holidays.

Lock your door, windows too,
Be careful when you play.
Have a safe and happy year
And a happy holiday!

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Rhyme runs rampant this holiday season. Even Chief Justice Rose Bird is affected. She penned a retirement poem for fellow Justice Otto Kaus, who is retiring from the bench. It isn't Bird's first retirement poem. She penned one for former Justice Frank K. Richardson upon his retirement in 1984. Of epic proportions, the current effort takes Kaus from birth to the present and would have us believe that at least one justice has interests other than torts. A short portion follows:

His judicial philosophy
Is active pacificity,
With certain marked proclivities
For middle-ground activities.

He's even got a watchful eye
For female externs passing by.
Each quarter he inspects the troop
To choose best looking for the group.

But that's all part of Otto's charm,
He kids around but means no harm.
He swears he's really just a sweetie
Whose life's a non-agression treaty . . . .

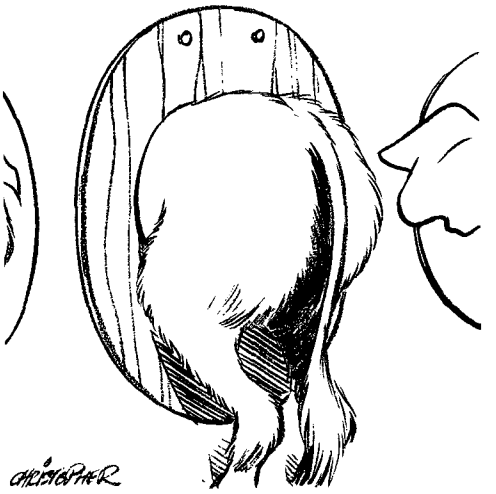
But we will miss him on the Court,
He's been a witty, wise cohort.
I wish him all the best of luck,
But after this, I'd better duck.

We knew the state prison system was growing, but this is getting out of hand. The state's Department of Commerce recently sent out one of its periodic press releases trumpeting the state's business climate. But the Associated Press, for some reason, garbled the message, thus: "During the first nine months of 1985, 515 firms said they would invest $2.9 billion in new or expanded plants that will result in 192,463 more jobs in California, according to the state Department of Corrections." Lots of papers printed the item without catching the mistake.

(Tony Quinn, Sacramento)

On the whole, I'd rather be in Philadelphia. The city of Fremont (it's kind of halfway between San Jose and San Francisco, but on the east side of the bay) doesn't think it's getting its fair share of the state's tourists. So, according to the *San Jose Mercury News*, the local chamber of commerce visitor's bureau got this great idea. Let's hold a contest, with the winner getting — you guessed it — a free weekend in Fremont. The newspaper quoted an understandably anonymous city official who wondered if second prize would be — you guessed it — "two weekends in Fremont." During the gala weekend, the lucky grand prize winner will stay in a Fremont hotel, eat free meals, tour a nearby winery, visit Mission San Jose and attend the Fremont 30th Anniversary Ball. To be eligible, you have to answer three simple questions: What California city is named for a U. S. Army general? What city is the fourth-largest in the Bay Area? What city has the fifth-largest land mass in the state? We're giving away no hints, but we found at least a half-dozen communities with the same names as generals, including Jackson, Lafayette, Sheridan, Sherman Oaks, Wallace, Washington and Westmoreland.

The nation's Democrats have been thinking its time for a change. And the first thing that should go, apparently, is that party's venerable old symbol — the



donkey. At least, that was the rumor out of Washington last month. Although that story was quickly shot down, it didn't die until a host of alternatives were suggested, mostly by Republicans. Top prize goes to state Senator H. L. Richardson of Glendora, who knows a dead animal when he sees one. Richardson offered that the new mascot should be the condor. "It stays afloat on hot air. It lives on carrion. Its defense mechanism is to throw up on you, and it's rapidly becoming extinct in California." Honorable mention goes to state Senator William Campbell of Hacienda Heights, who offered, "No need to dispose of the entire donkey — let's keep the back half."

Humor is a risky business; just ask any comedian who has had a joke die on him. Or ask Franklin Tom, state corporations commissioner. Tom was testifying before an Assembly committee about the methods his department uses to value health-maintenance organizations that are being converted from non-profit to for-profit status. Democrat Richard Robinson of Santa Ana interrupted Tom to say that he disagreed with the department's use of the Internal Revenue Service method of fixing the value.

"The IRS operates outside of a logical sense of accounting," said Robinson.

"Some say accountants operate outside a logical sense of reality," replied Tom with a laugh.

"You're talking to an accountant," said Robinson.

(Charley Roberts, Sacramento)

Clare Berryhill, the director of the Department of Food and Agriculture, is no shrinking violet when it comes to protecting the state's farmers. Why, just recently he whipped out a press release advising the state's citizens to stick with domestic wine, whose makers have been smarting because of a big influx of inexpensive imported vintages. Noting that some wines from Austria, Italy and West Germany contained traces of a diethylene glycol, a chemical used in radiators, Berryhill said consumers "might be better off to pour it into your radiator than to drink it." We're sure Berryhill's thoughts were only of the state's wine-drinkers, even though he is a farmer who grows — ahem — wine grapes.

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front," so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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WILLIAM MANSFIELD

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NEITHER THE FAITH AND CREDIT NOR THE TAXING POWER OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA IS PLEDGED TO THE PAYMENT OF THE PRINCIPAL OF, PREMIUM, IF ANY, OR INTEREST ON THE BONDS.

PRINCIPAL AMOUNTS, MATURITIES, INTEREST RATES AND PRICES OR YIELDS

$36,960,000 Serial Bonds

Principal Amount	Maturity	Interest Rate
$1,645,000	1986	5.90%
2,575,000	1987	6.30
6,255,000	1988	6.70
7,795,000	1989	7
2,975,000	1990	7.30
2,415,000	1991	7½
2,285,000	1992	7.70

Principal Amount	Maturity	Interest Rate
$2,460,000	1993	7.80%
2,175,000	1994	7.90
2,280,000	1995	8
1,265,000	1996	8.05
1,360,000	1997	8.10
1,475,000	1998	8.20

Price of all Serial Bonds: 100%

$17,440,000 8.80% Term Bonds due November 1, 2006—Price 100%

$14,100,000 8.00% Term Bonds due November 1, 2010—Yield 8.70%

(accrued interest to be added)

The offering of these Bonds is made only by the Official Statement, copies of which may be obtained from the Underwriter only in States in which the Underwriter may lawfully offer the Bonds.

The Bonds are offered when, as and if issued by the Authority and delivered to the Underwriter, and are subject to the approval of legality by the Attorney General of the State of California and by Buchalter, Nemer, Fields, Chrystie & Younger, a Professional Corporation, and Mitchell, Lurie & DeMarco, a Professional Corporation, Co-Bond Counsel. Certain legal matters are subject to the approval of Latham & Watkins, counsel for the Underwriter.

L. F. ROTHSCHILD, UNTERBERG, TOWBIN

December, 1985

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Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. SPEAKER

Assemblyman Willie Brown Jr. this year will complete his sixth year as speaker, as long as anyone has held the job. He came into office with the help of Assembly Republicans, when his fellow Democrats couldn't decide between former Assemblymen Leo McCarthy, now lieutenant governor, and Howard Berman, now a congressman. In his first years he managed to win support from both Democratic factions, thanks in part to a bitter fight over reapportionment, but his next few years were marked by rancorous disagreements with Republicans. Now that he has proven he can get Democrats reelected and has achieved detente with a new Republican leadership, Brown feels secure in his position and intends to stay. In a California Journal *interview, he reflects on his past and makes a few predictions for the future.*

California Journal: What are Willie Brown's strengths as speaker?
Speaker Willie Brown: I get along with everybody, and I'm always willing to try to help resolve problems. I have some ability as a strategist, and I think I have the respect of the entire membership. And that may be the strength of the speakership.

Journal: Let's try the other side. What are your weaknesses as speaker?
Brown: I don't have any.

Journal: No weaknesses at all?

Brown: No. Except maybe I say 'yes' to my membership too often. I tend to try to accommodate requests that the membership makes, even when I have to travel five or six hundred miles in one day and five or six hundreds back on the same day. Many people or many persons in my slot would say 'no' to some, but I try to make them all. I try to figure out how to accommodate members' requests. Members tell me that that's a weakness that they don't like when I say 'yes' to everybody. They say I should just say 'yes' to only them.

Journal: Does it carry over into policy matters? When someone wants to take a certain approach on a policy question, do you say 'yes' to them as well?
Brown: No, because I'm seldom, if ever, asked about what they should or should not do. I'm usually asked how should they do it. And I appreciate the fact that I'm seldom asked whether or not they should do it because I don't think that relevant to the speakership. You're putting the speaker in an awful position if you ask whether or not you should do something. One example is the death penalty. Gary Condit is pursuing that. I appreciate the fact that he wouldn't ask me if he should do it. But he can ask me how should he do it since he is, in fact, going to do it, and he knows that I'm objective enough to share my knowledge of how I would do it, were I in his position. So, no, in policy I seldom get the option to say 'yes' or 'no.'
Journal: You talk about yourself as a facilitator, bringing

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people together, helping to solve their problems for them. Do you want to stop short of a policy leadership role?

Brown: No. I pick my shots in policy leadership simply because my membership is so diverse. I really don't want to alienate — or have the speaker's office alienated — from an Alister McAlister (conservative Democrat) nor a Maxine Waters (liberal Democrat). And if the speaker's office fell into the grips of a Maxine Waters on policy issues or an Alister McAlister, somebody would be uncomfortable participating in the caucus operation. So I carefully select those policy things which I intend to provide leadership on. The prison package (AB487, AB1910, AB2251, SB253) is one example. The governor could not have done prisons. I did prisons for the governor. I had a lot of cooperation. That was a policy thing that I did.

The same goes, if you recall, some two or three years ago, when the governor first came into office. He had lost the solution to the financial crisis in February 1983. The Senate insisted upon a tax solution, and I worked out the in-between. So there are some policies which I assume personal responsibility (for) and produce accordingly.

Those are the policy issues that were not like abortion or the death penalty, where members have strong personal feelings. So I deliberately restrain the use of this leadership on many policy issues because I want the speakership to be appropriately used, followed and respected by a maximum number of members.

Journal: In past reelection campaigns, Republicans spent as much time running against you as they did against individual Assembly candidates, and it appeared that some of that involved a latent racism. There were also questions that came up about your ability to raise money. In essence,

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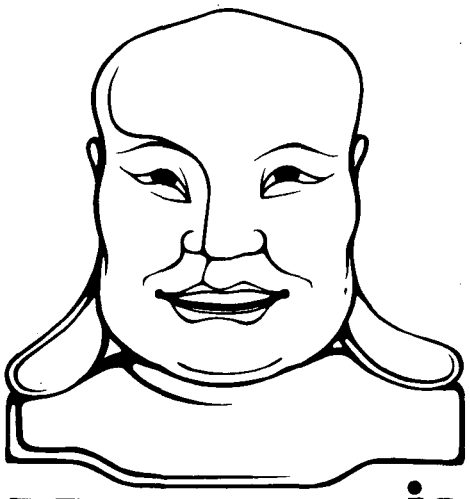

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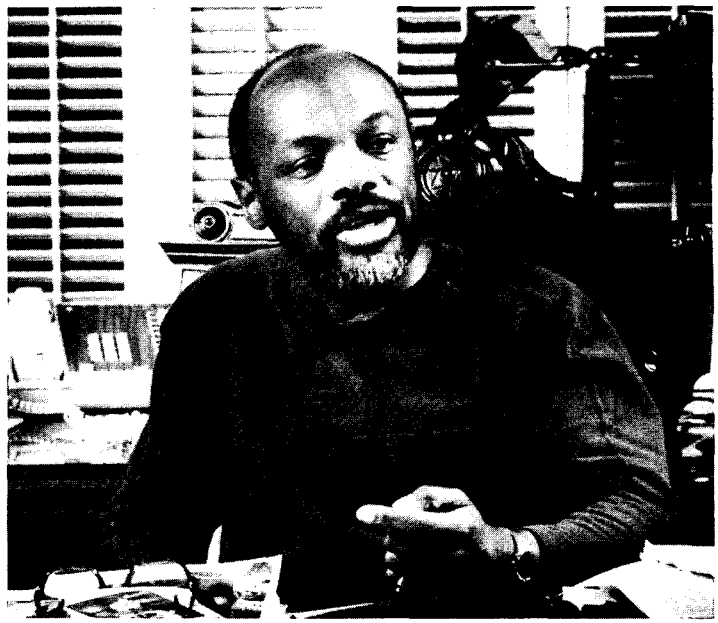

would a black person be able to appeal across a broad spectrum? Do you feel that you have put those things behind you? And did you carry an extra burden into the speakership?

Brown: Well, I may have an extra burden, but that's been the fact of life so I treat it as just a part of the order of business. I don't ever lament about it or complain about it. Let me tell you, though, that I suspect now that I am probably as attractive a personality for visiting purposes and for guest-shot purposes as any other elected official in the state of California. Probably better than most. There certainly is more interest in Willie Brown than in most politicians.

We turn down probably five times as many invitations as we can accept. There just hasn't been a chamber of commerce or Rotary Club or high school or anything else that has sent an invitation to anybody that didn't somehow extend one to us. I mean in everybody's district, not just Democratic districts. I am paraded out by my Republican colleagues when they bring their visiting people through here. I am paraded out by the black members, who are inordinately proud of my title and my wealth and what have you. And so I have gone beyond the point where anyone would consider Willie Brown anything other than a positive association and, therefore, not a person to be a liability in a campaign.

Journal: As speaker, you are leader of the whole House, but you're also leader of your own party, and I'm curious about the conflict between those two roles.

Brown: There are conflicts, and I would hope that I would at all times recognize those conflicts and make sure that I've dealt with them before any action around them becomes a liability for me. So far I have managed to do that, sometimes to the displeasure of some real partisan Democrats, and that's unfortunate. But I have to play two roles out of necessity. Clearly the speaker, if he is a Democrat or Republican, just by title, is in an important party position. But that partisan party official must not allow his partisanship to impact upon his role as constitutionally-designated head of this Assembly. That is not a partisan position and should not be treated as a partisan position. So I'm very careful and I try my best to highlight when I do it.

Journal: One notable criticism of the Assembly in partic-

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ular and the Legislature in general is that the need for campaign contributions has come to the point where it is getting in the way of public policy. You, yourself, have complained about how much time is required to raise money. How much responsibility do you as speaker bear for that state of affairs?

Brown: First, I don't concede that the pursuit of campaign contributions has impacted adversely on the policy positions that people take. There is a careful, dedicated effort by all of us in this House — and I suspect in the Senate as well — to make sure that there will never be an opportunity for anyone to do anything except speculate that there *is* a relationship (between campaign contributions and legislation). There is no way to avoid the speculation, however. For example, you can get $100,000 from the California Teachers Association on Proposition 39 (the 1984 reapportionment effort sponsored by Governor George Deukmejian and Assembly Republicans). Now, for as long as I've been here, I've voted for things like better funding for public schools, better teacher salaries and better working conditions. But there's no way I'm going to avoid the possibility of being criticized because of that contribution. In good conscience, I know that — contribution or no contribution — my conduct would have been the same.

As a matter of fact, I go beyond that. If I even suspect that there is any relationship between a contribution and the movement of a piece of legislation, I will yank it. And I won't tell you how many times I have exercized that power during the course of my speakership. There are a number of people who scream about Willie Brown and the alleged arrogance of the speakership, but you'd better believe that if I made an arbitrary decision (to yank a bill), it was probably rooted in my suspicion of some connection between contributions and somebody pushing a piece of legislation or somebody making a request about a piece of legislation.

Journal: The stories about so-called "bag bills" have become legendary. The public impression is almost overwhelming on this, regardless of the actual situation.

Brown: Reporters ought to put up or shut up and stop destroying the image of really talented and good people — unless they have cold, hard evidence that something is wrong. Now I know that's a wish that will never come true. There will always be irresponsible people out there who will do it because it sells newspapers. That's why I'm absolutely dedicated to public financing of campaigns. Then, reporters aren't going to be able to write cheap-shot articles, sans any research, any investigation — no background, no nothing. All of a sudden you won't be able to hang (a vote) on alleged campaign contributions.

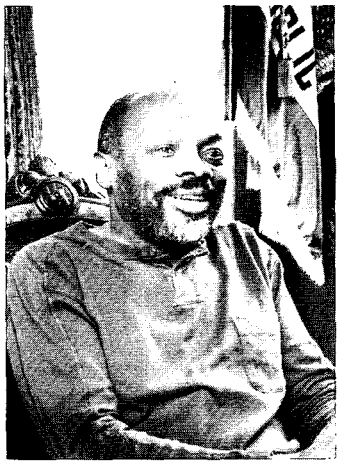
Do I have any responsibility for the way things are? Yes, I have some responsiblity. But I am only one elected official with a very important title, a very important role. I am not a school marm. None of my predecessors were school marms. I don't know one speaker who publicly humiliated any given member because of some allegation, supported or not supported, that might have been in the press. I don't mind being criticized for what I do, and I don't mind being criticized for those things I control, but I do not elect 79 other members. I elect one. Me.

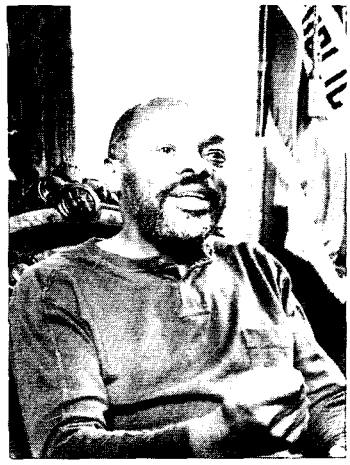
Journal: Several members of your leadership team have been featured prominently in the news. Do you need to do something about that?

Brown: All I need to do is wait and let the authorities handle the problem. When the authorities have completed their problem then it will be my problem. But anything that I or anyone else would do, prior to the proper constituted authorities doing their job, would clearly be prejudicial. We still live in a democracy. People are still entitled to some constitutional protections.

Journal: A moment ago, you said that if you suspect a connection between campaign contributions and a piece of legislation that you would yank it. And you also say that you never have, and never will, publicly humiliate a member of the House. Have you ever privately dressed them down?

Brown: With regularity. If I place credence in a rumor about a piece of legislation to which contributions may be attached, I confront the member. In many cases, their explanation has been rational and reasonable. I have also told a member about what appears to be a conflict of interest, and how it should be avoided at all costs. I've been in this House for 21 years; this has been my home. It's the one place in life that I hold more dear to me than anything else and it's one that I'm really proud of. And I want this place





to have the respectability that it's entitled to and that 98 percent of the membership works to produce.

Journal: Do you think it has respectability now?

Brown: No.

Journal: Do you blame the press entirely?

Brown: No, I don't. But the press must accept its share of responsibility. The press is an interseting item. You know that press denies the influence it has on public policy? And it's not accountable to anybody except its own alleged integrity. It's not accountable to anybody, period. The press has as much influence on public policy as I have. The difference is that I have to get reelected every two years. I have to submit my conduct for evaluation to the voters. The press doesn't have to do that.

But the press is running the risk of either being taken over by idealogues or subjecting themselves to the possibility of some regulations by way of the government process. I don't want to see either of those things occur. So I'm really struggling to convince the press — the working press, the publishing press, the ownership press — that they really ought to take stock of themselves. If they hold public officials accountable to a certain standard, they ought to impose that (standard) on themselves first.

Now that will mean a considerable amount of restraint. There are some bad apples among you, some irresponsible folk among you, who will run out there with anything; this nonsense about "reliable sources" and the cheap shots that are taken or conclusions that are drawn just from asking questions.

Say, for example, there is a grand jury investigation in Sacramento, and an irresponsible reporter asks me, "Willie Brown, they are investigating the Legislature. Have

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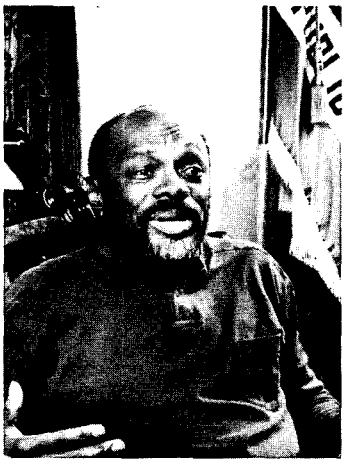
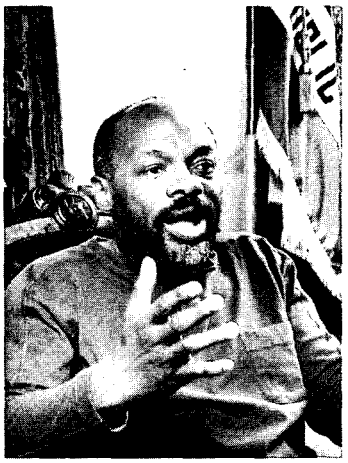
you been subpoened?"

"No, I have not."

That ought to be the end of the conversation. But the next day I see a newspaper headline: "Grand Jury Investigation — Speaker Denies Having Been Subpoened." Or a story that reads: "When questioned whether or not he'd been subpoenaed, the speaker denied it." There'd be no reason to put me in that story at all unless there was some evidence that a subpoena for me was out there, because half the people who read that story automatically assume that the denial is based upon the fact that I had been (subpoenaed). That's irresponsible journalism. And the Jesse Helmses of the world want to deal with that by buying CBS or by taking over the newspapers. And when they do, they'll enjoy the same privileges and the same First Amendment protections they are now trying to destroy.

There's no justification for the constant flow of negative





stuff. Some marvelous things have come out of this Legislature. You don't ever have to write about me, but it is highly irresponsible not to recognize the good.

Journal: Do you think the vast amounts of money needed to run political campaigns makes that kind of reporting inevitable?

Brown: Not at all. That money arrives on every single issue, and it comes from every single source. Just as much money is spent on opposition as is spent in support of an issue. There is seldom an issue in which the sides are not equal in terms of resources. The California Medical Association donates as much money to my efforts to get people elected do as the California trial lawyers. They cancel each other out.

For example, when you start to write that the decision on joint-and-several liability is a direct result of the influence trial lawyers have developed with campaign contributions, how do you deal with the fact that in the same year there's a $40,000 contribution in two dinners from the California Medical Association, which takes the opposite view? You've got to say, "Now wait a minute. Brown is not crazy. Why didn't he sell out to the doctors, if I'm going to accuse him of selling out?" But you don't deal with the fact that they cancel each other out.

When you talk about the influence of money, invariably news stories only reflect money that allegedly influenced movement. They never talk about the lack of movement based upon money given on the other side. And it's usually equal. Private groups invariably will give to any candidate for public office or any elected official who tends: (1) to be competent; (2) to be honest; (3) to be hard-working; (4) to be perceived as electable; and (5) who seems to have open eyes and open ears on all issues.

Those who are absolutely locked into gun control are another example. You notice that people don't write negative stories about H.L. Richardson? The mass of his money comes from Gun Owners of America. All the bills he carries reflect that relationship. The public press doesn't hold him up to the same inspection level and accusation level as you do a Willie Brown on an issue involving trial lawyers or doctors or auto manufacturers or anybody else.

So there is something unwholesome and unfair about the whole process. I don't suggest that I want H.L. Richardson attacked. That's H.L.'s philosphy, and I think his bills reflect what H.L. wants. I'm willing to concede that. And in many cases, apparently the press is willing to concede that, too. But they aren't willing to concede that my three years in law school and my three years as a law school teacher and my almost 25 years as a practitioner have some influence on what I think about legal matters — rather than some insignificant campaign contribution — when it comes to the total of all contributions. So unless you have some independent indication that one person said, "I'm doing this because of a contribution," you ought to drop it because it's a disservice.

Journal: There is a perception among lobbyists, however, that money talks.

Brown: Lobbyists are so irresponsible in that regard it's a tragedy. As a journalist, you should never quote a lobbyist unless they are willing to be named. That is the most self-serving irresponsible sort of conduct. Those people are personal, special-interest advocates and they are going to say whatever is beneficial for their client at that moment. In many cases they also understand, when they enter into contracts with their clients, that their clients will say, "I'm willing to pay your salary but I need money reserved for campaign contributions because I think that helps me."

Lobbyists don't like that. They would like very much to take all (the client's) money. They'd like not to make any allowance for campaign contributions. It's self-serving on behalf of some lobbyists, and journalists ought not to let them get away with it. You ought to say, "If you want us to do something, then allow yourself to be quoted. We will protect you by tracking every issue that you advocate, and if we find politicians gettings vengeance, we will write that they are getting vengeance on you." That's a realistic approach.

Journal: You don't think that there is a perception, say, that if the CMA does not pony up $40,000 that they will be behind in the game on a particular bill where they go head-to-head with the trial lawyers?

Brown: Let me tell you something. If I was a private entrepreneur out there in the public sector, I would clearly advise my clients, "You want to participate. I need access. To the extent that you participate, that gives me greater access. These people have to get reelected. They've got to get the dough from someplace. You're going to donate money to somebody. You ought to let me help you direct how you donate because it can make me a more effective lobbyist by virtue of being able to get in the door simultaneously with anybody else that's trying to get there." I certainly would not mislead my clients and tell them that they thereby purchased legislation. Good quality advocates would tell you that.

Journal: What about the perception that if you don't pay up, you don't get to be in the game at all? Those groups that can't afford to match the CMA just don't get the access, don't get to participate in the game to the degree that perhaps they should, from a public policy standpoint.

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Brown: I don't know anyone who has declined to let anyone participate or declined the opportunity for access. Nor do I know any member who has made his or her decision based upon contributions, and contributions alone. You understand that the source of contributions is voters; they are people. The teachers in my district are people. They are just like the non-teachers. They have the same interests. They breathe the same air. They do the same things. So you're not talking about a single entity.

Journal: Surely you don't deny that people who can contribute enormous amounts of money get more attention than those who can't?
Brown: The person who comes to my attention gets the attention. And one of the ways in which I know you is that I know if you have given a contribution someplace and I send you a thank-you note. I also know you if you come and ask for an appointment to see me and tell me your troubles. And I respond. In either case, I respond. Every other legislator is similarly situated.

I don't know any citizen that will tell you that a legislator turned him down because he didn't give a contribution. I don't know anybody like that. And I really don't think that people in the halls of the Legislature ought to be beaten up by the press without some accusation from somebody who is identifiable. Because every time somebody makes an appointment to see me, I see them. That means that I am not checking contribution lists. Contributions have very little to do with whether I see them or don't see them.

So, all I say is that part of the perception comes from the report of all this giving, because you can't report unless there is a giving. All I ask is that the report be a bit more balanced.

Journal: Is that why you want to shift to a public financing?
Brown: No. I want absolutely to get away from any perception, any suspicion that the motivation for legislation is contributions. I also want to personally get away from having to go to lunch with almost anybody or making telephone calls. I have a list of people I intend to call about my . . . dinner.

Journal: Do you think there is any prospect that the Legislature is going to enact some sort of reform bill?
Brown: Oh, yes. When that citizen's committee (California Commission on Campaign Financing) came out with its recommendations (in October 1985), we had done or considered, in one manner or another, everything that they had in there except barring of transfers in a campaign committee. I'm willing to accept that, providing we can bring the governor into the 20th Century for a signature (on a bill for public financing of campaigns). I think there are 41 votes in this House and 21 votes in the Senate to put that issue on his desk, and ultimately to follow with an appropriation. And I want to do that. I don't want the person who eventually takes my job to spend 25 minutes of an interview discussing campaign financing and its perceptions. I want to be able to talk about the real things that influence legislation.

Journal: Can we talk for a minute about legislators' outside interests? Your own activities as a lawyer have come up in the past and probably every member of the Legislature at one point or another has had some sort of outside business dealing that someone has related to his or her work inside the Legislature. Do you think that legislators are tempted to do things that they probably otherwise shouldn't be-

That famous Willie Brown wardrobe

In addition to his political prowess, Speaker Brown is famous for fashion. The men's magazine, GQ, *recently called him the "best-dressed politician in America." But in this interview, the speaker protested that dressing well is simple. Here is his advice on putting together a wardrobe:*

"I want to tell you a secret. How many suits can you buy? You can buy one blue suit. You can buy one brown suit. You can buy one gray suit. Then you can buy a blue suit with a little stripe in it. You can buy a gray suit with a fleck in it. And you can buy a brown suit with a check in it. You can buy one blazer, blue; one blazer, black; one blazer, camel color. You can buy two pair of gray pants that go with all of them. You can buy white shirts, colored shirts, ties. You can keep them well cleaned and make sure that they fit you extremely well, and you can rotate them and have a marvelous wardrobe. I mean a marvelous wardrobe.

"And if you stay the same size and really pay a good price for your goods, the fabric can stand 15 to 20 cleanings, which means they will last you five years. You do that over a five-year period, and you buy on a seasonal basis, throwing out those things with the wider lapels. Don't buy any extremes, don't buy any extremes at all. Don't go for any of the flash; do not go for anything that is a one-time shot. My gray suit that I had three years ago I still can wear. It's still the same gray suit, because it was a classic purchase. And that's what I have done over the last five or six years. So when people talk about the famous lifestyle of Willie Brown, it is a lifestyle that does not include monthly fueling or replenishing of the wardrobe.

"I take things out of my wardrobe annually. I take ties out annually. I take shirts out annually. I take out maybe one or two outfits annually because I don't like them anymore. I don't wear them so there's no reason to keep them.

"And, I add. For this winter season, for example, I added four pieces, total. What is that? $5000 worth of clothes for this winter season? And I only buy two seasons. I buy winter and summer. Or winter and spring, is what it amounts to. That's not a whole lot of money, but I have a quality wardrobe that I have accumulated over the years. I don't have to buy an overcoat every winter. I got a good overcoat. I got two good raincoats. I got leather jackets — bought one last year and one the year before that.

"I'm also careful. Do you ever see my ties? Do you notice that they are never flashy? My burgundy ties are burgundy ties. And it's the same burgundy tie until I just can't get it cleaned anymore — too much goes on it from lunch. I will then replace it. But until then, I use that burgundy tie. I use it with the gray suit. I use it with the blue suit. I am very careful and very clever about my colors and my style and my shape and my fit and the texture and the cleanliness of the outfits, because I really love to dress."

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cause of the need for outside income?
Brown: No. No. Most legislators are restrained and cautious just because they really don't want to see their names in print. They walk away from a lot of investment and business opportunities than they wouldn't in ordinary life. As soon as we get the salaries up to where they should be, then I think that all of us should operate the same way that the governor supposedly operates, attorney general, and everybody else. We ought to be without outside income.

Journal: How much does that need to be?
Brown: Probably what we've done for constitutional officers: $70,000 to $80,000 per year, per member. I'm the one that orchestrated those increases in salaries because I think those people should be appropriately compensated.

Journal: Can you live on that little money?
Brown: Great point. Listen, I could live on a lot less. People really think that I have an unusually expensive lifestyle.

Journal: I thought that was your wardrobe allowance?
Brown: No. Let me tell you. I spend everything I earn. It is clear that I absolutely spend everything that I earn. But it's also clear I don't own much. Every investment I've ever done has turned out to be nothing. I live in an apartment. And I spend in two or three areas. I splurge on clothing and I spend it on cars. And that's it. I don't have any hobbies. I don't have any club dues. I don't play golf. I don't take vacations. My whole life is work, period.

Oh, I have vices, but none that cost money! But I don't need — I'm telling you — $50,000 a year after taxes. I could do that easy. And you can do that by the way if this job paid $65,000 - $70,000 gross, plus the other benefits that go with it. They pick up your travel and all that, except I don't charge for travel. I've not been reimbursed for travel by the state in so many years, it isn't funny. It would be an easy number to make it. Because after all, payments to the ex-wife are not monumental. And I think most members would be similarly situated.

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Journal: What about the criticism that your lifestyle is a bad role model for the states' citizens in general and its black citizentry in particular?
Brown: I seek reelection to my seat every two years, and I have been reelected with overwhelming majorities each time. I seek reelection to my leadership votes every two years, and I have been reelected by my peers, who have been similarly elected by 300,000 citizens. That's the only measuring tool I can think of that's definitive.

The next area of expression that is fair to reference is the fact that I am invited by everybody in the world to come and grace their social events, their political events, their church events, their civic events, their ground breaking. I don't know what else you got to do to be accepted. I am sought after for interviews by more press people than I can ever grant. I'm extended more invitations to private social events than I could ever accept and I'm never without companionship — lunch-wise, dinner-wise or even breakfast-wise.

And I'm never without people dying to see me in my official capacity as a speaker or as a lawyer. I'm never without a full list of clients. So I don't know what else you have to do to establish yourself.

Journal: What's going to happen to Willie Brown now? What will you be doing four years from now? Or six years from now? Or 10 years from now?
Brown: Four years from now? Six years from now? Ten years from now? I still may be running this speakership. I will continue to do this as long as I enjoy it. And I really enjoy it. I'm still having lots and lots of fun. I'm still making lots and lots of progress, policy-wise. You know the seat belt number last time around, the workfare number that I had a little bit of a hand in last time around.

All those things are still exciting to me. And I still like the idea of two-year challenges and the campaigns. I like going up to Eureka, speaking with Dan Hauser. I still like trying to replace (Republican Assemblyman) Don Sebastiani (of Sonoma). I'm still finding it fascinating. I still love going to the Democratic State Central Committee convention and making the luncheon speech and sometimes being outrageous and having fun doing it. I still like all of that and until I cease to find that fascinating, I won't think about anything else. This is a very prestigious position. It's a job that I would not have — could not have — envisioned my ever having. And when I graduated from high school, college and law school, who would have ever thought I would be speaker of the California State Assembly. Nobody. Certainly not me.

Journal: What about the political prospects for Assembly Democrats?
Brown: But I think the membership of my House, Republicans as well as Democrats, has an incredible future. When the 1990 gubernatorial elections come around, look at who we're going to be able to choose from. There's a list of at least ten prospective Democratic nominees alone. And they are all talented, competent, attractive. In 1988 to run against Pete Wilson, there's going to be a list of at least six or eight, all of whom have good images in the press. They are bright, have good resources, good backgrounds, have managed somehow to achieve some policy or subject-matter status and stature and have the mutual respect of

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their peers. The competition is getting rough.

It's like when I entered law school. At that time they were dying to get people to come to law school. Today, I would struggle just to get in because they moved the standards up. It's the same in politics. (The competition) has moved up so quickly that McCarthy, who has ambition, Van de Kamp, who has ambition, they've got worries. There are some tough, interested, talented, aggressive, better organized young folk or younger people — they are moving.

Journal: How come Willie Brown isn't in that list?
Brown: Because Willie Brown has a job.

Journal: That doesn't stop any other politican, right?
Brown: Willie Brown is like a cat. Ever notice a cat? They never jump any higher than they can reach. You've never seen a cat fall off or try to jump up on a table and not make it. You've never seen it grab a curtain and not be able to climb. I know my limits. I know my liabilities electorally speaking, and I live within those limits. My ego is satisfied and I'm comfortable. I don't need to prove I'm the baddest dude on the block by going out and seeking every elected office.

Journal: There are a lot of pundits making note these days of growing Republican registration and what that might mean to the Democratic Party. Do you worry at times that you may become an ex-speaker by simply becoming minority leader?
Brown: I don't think the Republicans are ever going to get the majority. Democratic candidates are going to block that. In 1984 the Republicans thought — and justifiably so — that they had their best chance for gaining seats. They had Ronald Reagan running, they had the governor out there with a reapportionment initiative (Proposition 39). They had the country at peace, they had the Democrats with the worst possible nominee. For all those reasons, everything was in order. They went off and selected tailor-made candidates for the districts: police officers, sheriffs, retired police officers. They were funded better than we would ever or could ever be funded.

We beat them to death. It's the quality of the candidate, first and foremost, the organizational skills of the candidate, second, and the supportive resources that the rest of us can bring to the campaign that make the difference. I don't see the Republicans being able to overcome that. They had their best shot in '84. George Deukmejian is not the attractive personality Ronald Reagan is. People aren't coming out in droves to vote for George Deukmejian like they did for Ronald Reagan.

(Then), you've got 1991 reapportionment again. Do you think the lines are going to be drawn any differently than they are now? I don't think so. People still have to vote (according to) these lines. I don't see any great alteration happening between now and 1991 in the make-up of the House. You can't look much beyond that.

Journal: Do you think Tom Bradley is a good candidate for the Democrats and is he going to beat Deukmejian?
Brown: I think he has a chance. He is my candidate, number one. Number two, I don't think much of this governor, and if the proper kind of campaign is conducted, Tom Bradley has a good chance of defeating George Deukmejian. I mean vetoes and the blue-penciling that's going on concerns both Democrats and Republicans in the House.

Journal: What about Rose Bird on the ballot? Is that a liability for the Democrats?
Brown: Whether it's a liability or not, that's the most important issue on the ballot. I hope we can avoid the partisanship surrounding it because it deserves not to be treated as a partisan, narrow issue as it is currently being treated by Governor Deukmejian, by Bill Dannemeyer, by H.L. Richardson and the people characterized as the know-nothings of this world. That is an issue of the integrity and the independence of the courts. That's where we all have to go for a fair hearing. We really don't want that tampered with by virtue of partisan political flavor.

I must tell you the governor went a long ways toward gaining respectability when he (appointed) what basically is a moderate Republican. (Appellate Court Justice Edward A.) Panelli is a moderate Republican jurist of highest credentials, great respectability and a-political. That's a long way away from the incredible craziness surrounding his opposition to Rose Bird.

Journal: Would you like to see Rose Bird step down before the election?
Brown: No. Anything negative that happens to Rose Bird harms the courts in the state, probably forever, and maybe even (throughout) the nation. You think a muni court judge who sees that happen will have any courage? They will always be sticking their finger in the wind to determine which way they ought to vote politically, without reference to the facts of the law. When I walk into a court room, I'd like to know that I'm in an arena where they can hate my guts or they can hate my race or they can hate my political preference, but where justice shall still prevail and fairness shall still prevail. And that's what is on trial. That very situation.

Journal: Would you like to eliminate elections for Supreme Court justices?
Brown: Absolutely. They ought to be in the same category as federal judges. Judges ought to be beyond reprisal except for those things (like) honesty or physical competence or intellectual competence.

Journal: As speaker, how would you like to be remembered once you do step down?
Brown: I would like to be remembered for two or three things. One, I'd like to be remembered as one of the best and most effective persons to ever hold this position. I'd like to be remembered by every member who served with me, both in my capacity as a member of the Assembly and as their speaker. I'd like to frankly be thought of positively by all of those guys and women. I'd want them forever to have me and want me as a friend. And then, finally, I'd really like to have the columnist at the end write that I somehow brought dignity to the job. That's what the headstone should say.

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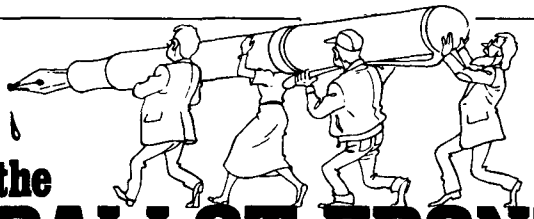

the BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 393,835 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 630,136. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure.*

New in circulation:

MALPRACTICE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Dr. Russell S. Kussman of Los Angeles, that guarantees that "all victims" have the right to seek compensation for injuries caused by "a wrongful act by a health-care provider" and the right to a jury trial unless that right is waived by the victim. (April 18th, if initiative is to be placed on November 1986 ballot; otherwise, May 1st)

COMPENSATION OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS, EMPLOYEES, INDIVIDUAL PUBLIC CONTRACTORS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Paul Gann of Carmichael, that sets constitutional limits on the salaries of all elected and appointed public officials. The governor's salary would be $80,000 per year and the salary for all constitutional officers $52,000. The maximum salary for any elected or appointed state or local government official would be 80 percent of the governor's salary, or $64,000. Compensation for an individual under contract to any public agency also could not exceed 80 percent of the governor's salary. Salaries for elected officials and the judiciary could be increased only by a vote of the people. (April 14th)

VETERANS BOARD — an initiative statute, sponsored by Renie Champagne, Jerry Williams and Donald Sweat, that would remove the Department of Veterans Affairs from the Consumer Services Agency and would establish a new, independent Veterans Board to oversee veteran affairs. (May 9th)

Continuing in circulation:

ABORTION — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Susan Sassone of Fountain Valley. (February 21st, December 1985)

TORT DAMAGES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Gene Livingston of Sacramento. (March 3rd, December 1985)

Failed to qualify:

REAPPORTIONMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Republican Assemblyman Don Sebastiani of Sonoma, that would have allowed voters to set boundaries for legislative, congressional and Board of Equalization districts by statutory initiative. It also provided that all state Senate districts be composed of two Assembly districts.

REAPPORTIONMENT OF DISTRICTS — an initiative statute, also sponsored by Assemblyman Sebastiani, that set new legislative, congressional and Board of Equalization district boundaries.

INJURY AWARDS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by David Sabih of Pacific Grove, that would have prevented the Legislature from passing any law limiting damage awards in lawsuits.

Petitions submitted:

PUBLIC FUNDED ABORTIONS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Renate Penny and Muriel Brown from the Institute for Child Care Studies of Sacramento. (September 1985)

Source: Secretary of State March Fong Eu

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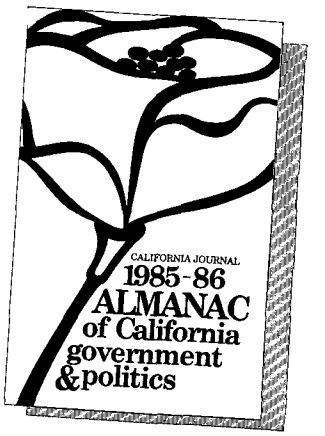

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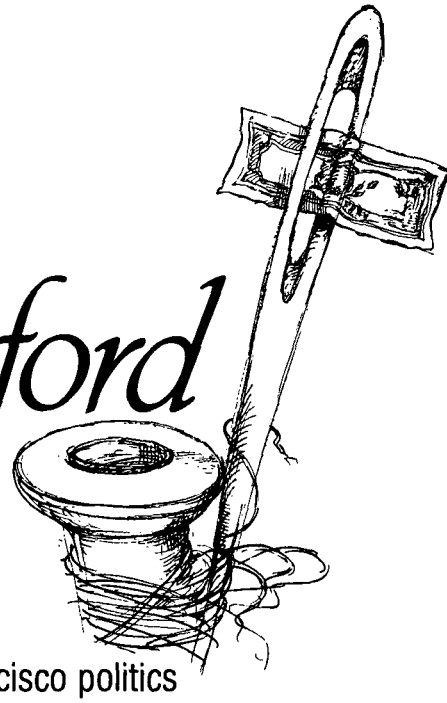
The Wilkes Bashford Affair



A dispute over rent highlights the clubby world of San Francisco politics

By LARRY LIEBERT

Most Fridays at noon, three friends gather at San Francisco's chic Le Central restaurant to catch up on gossip and pass judgment on matters of style and power. They are bound by a common sense of triumph as "outsiders" who rose to the status of arbiters of taste and clout in clubby San Francisco: Willie Brown, a black from Mineola, Texas, who became speaker of the Assembly and attorney for big developers; Herb Caen, a Jewish kid from Sacramento, who became the best-read columnist in Northern California; and Wilkes Bashford, a foppish clothing salesman from New York State whose store has become the city's trendiest.

Their friendship and their business neatly mesh. Brown, recently described by *Gentleman's Quarterly* magazine as "the best-dressed politician in America," is a living model for $1500 Brioni suits from Bashford's store. Caen often dots his *San Francisco Chronicle* gossip column with items about the quips and accomplishments of Brown and Bashford.

But a gloom has enveloped these three in recent months because Bashford's landlord has accused him of short-changing the rent on his store by more than $1 million since 1966. The affair has become politically explosive front-page news in San Francisco because his landlord happens to be the city.

A cozy circle

Bashford, who resembles the wealthy sidekick on the television series "Magnum P.I.", runs his fashion empire from ground-floor stores in a city-owned parking garage near Union Square. The city is charging Bashford with understating his store's gross revenues, thereby reducing his rent, which is based on a percentage of his earnings.

After long refusing to open his books to auditors, Bashford has agreed to pay $463,000 in rent, interest and attorney's fees for 1982-83. But he has been fighting the city's demand for an additional $1 million for prior years, and he has refused to pay a penny more unless the city grants him a new long-term lease on his store. At the same time, a criminal grand jury is investigating Bashford and his business.

From start to finish, the Bashford affair has been a vivid illustration of the cozy, tight circle that runs San Francisco. "It's a small town," said one city official involved in the dispute, "and there are a lot of mutual friends."

As far back as 1979 the non-profit corporation that manages the city-owned garage had asked to audit Bashford's books. He refused, and one of his reasons was that the board of the non-profit corporation included competing merchants who would learn inside information on Bashford's operations.

This year the dispute escalated and broke into the open. Brown swung into action for his friend, asking Mayor Dianne Feinstein to intervene and prevent the audit of Bashford's books. Feinstein curtly refused, but she has remained discreetly silent about the explosive issue since then.

With elections to the Board of Supervisors coming up in 1986 and a campaign for mayor in 1987, many city officials will be seeking Brown's endorsement. The powerful Assembly speaker has tossed out some pointedly scathing assessments of several such officials who have dared to take a get-tough attitude toward Bashford.

Caen also used his soapbox to help Bashford. In a remarkable column Caen charged that reporters investigating Bashford, Brown and others of his friends were engaged in "vendetta journalism." He wrote that investigative reporters, "motivated by personal venom," launch histrionic crusades that go on "day after day for weeks or months, until the hated object is destroyed."

The city's governing Board of Supervisors followed a zigzag course. In the first blush of publicity over Bashford's rent case, the supervisors voted to evict him from his city-owned store. But City Attorney George Agnost ignored that policy and persisted in seeking a settlement of the dispute that could grant Bashford the long-term lease he wanted.

Since then the passion to punish Bashford seems to have

Larry Liebert is chief political correspondent for the San Francisco Chronicle.

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WILKES BASHFORD

HERB CAEN

faded. Board President John Molinari, who plans to run for mayor, appointed a committee to investigate the Bashford case but loaded it with those leaning toward a conciliatory approach. The committee held only one perfunctory meeting.

The infighting at the criminal grand jury has become even more complex. District Attorney Arlo Smith, never known as a hard-hitting prosecutor of corruption, opened what seemed a straightforward probe of whether Bashford intentionally defrauded the city in short-changing his rent. But the year-long probe has veered into other areas, including a *San Francisco Chronicle* report that the jury is even reviewing tales of drug sales and use at the store.

Her honor's ex

A Superior Court judge intervened in the case by disqualifying the chief prosecutor who was handling the grand jury investigation, charging the prosecutor had a "conflict of interest" over the accuracy of information he allegedly received about the case. Then District Attorney Smith struck back by asking that the judge be disqualified for having his own conflict of interest.

The judge in the middle of the dispute is Jack Berman who has acknowledged that Speaker Brown was "certainly instrumental" in helping him obtain his judgeship. Just to add to what Berman jovially calls the "incestuous" nature of power in San Francisco, the judge happens to have been the first husband of Mayor Feinstein.

Bashford's attorney, Jeff Levenberg, said the grand jury investigation "seems to be off in a wild goose chase." As for the rent dispute, Levenberg said Bashford has "acknowledged he handled this matter improperly" but that "there is no fraud, criminal or civil," involved. According to his attorney, Bashford failed to pay some rent because he did not believe he needed to report all the earnings of a separately-owned shoe concession in his store and because he had an unwritten agreement with his landlord to omit from the revenues he reported to the city all marked-down clothing sold in clearance sales.

It is in the city's interest to keep Bashford as a lucrative tenant, Levenberg said, and Bashford already has been penalized sufficiently by the bad publicity. "His business has suffered because of the allegations in the paper," the attorney said. "Our lenders blanched. Our suppliers freaked, and Wilkes' reputation suffered again and again. Lesser men would have cracked."

But Louise Renne, the member of the Board of Supervisors who has been most critical of cutting a new deal with Bashford, said an issue of public confidence is at stake because of Bashford's very visible political and social connections. "There's got to be some way of assuring people that the little guy isn't treated one way," she said, "and the big guy another."

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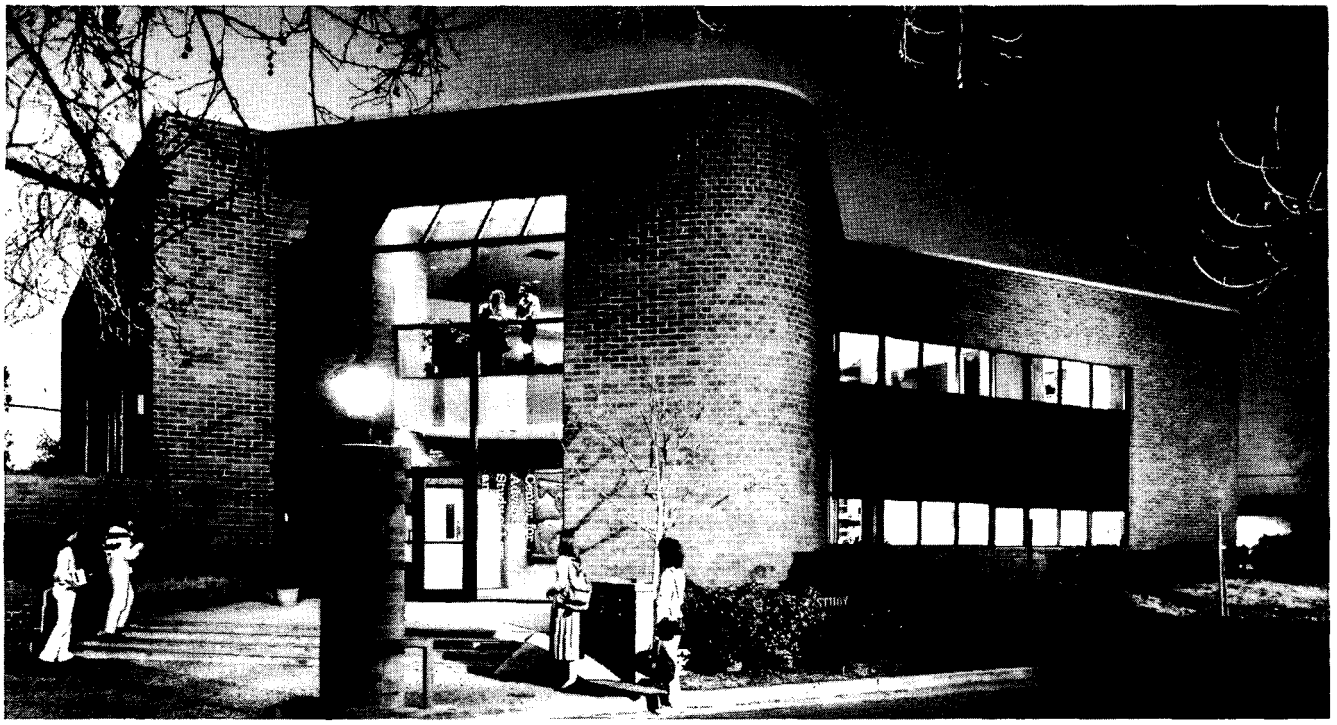

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Legislative Calendar 1986 REGULAR SESSION

January 1 — Bills enacted on or before October 2, 1985, take effect.

January 6 — Legislature reconvenes.

January 10 — Budget must be submitted by Governor on or before this date.

January 17 — Last day for policy committees to report Assembly bills introduced in 1985 for referral to fiscal committees.

January 23 — Constitutional amendments to be placed on the June 3 ballot must be adopted by this date.

January 24 — Last day for any committee to report Assembly Bills introduced in 1985 requiring further action.

January 30 — Last day for Assembly to pass to the Senate Assembly bills introduced in 1985 (Does not apply to constitutional amendments).

February 21 — Last day to introduce bills.

March 20 — Easter recess begins on adjournment.

March 31 — Legislature reconvenes.

April 18 — Last day for policy committees to pass Assembly bills for referral to fiscal committees.

May 9 — Last day for policy committees to report Assembly bills.

May 30 — Last day on which policy committees meet prior to June 16.

June 6 — Last day for fiscal committees to report Assembly bills.

June 6 — Last day on which any committee may meet prior to June 16.

June 13 — Last day for Assembly to pass Assembly bills.

June 26 — Constitutional amendments to be placed on the November 4 ballot must be adopted by this date.

July 3 — Last day for policy committees to pass Senate bills for referral to fiscal committees. Summer recess begins on adjournment (provided Budget Bill has been enacted).

August 4 — Legislature reconvenes.

August 8 — Last day for policy committee to meet and report bills.

August 15 — Last day for fiscal committees to meet and report fiscal bills.

August 29 — Last day for any bill to be passed which is to become law on January 1, 1987. Final recess begins on adjournment.

September 30 — Last day for Governor to sign or veto bills passed by the Legislature before September 1 and in his possession on or after September 1.

October 2 — Bills enacted on or before this day take effect on January 1, 1987.

November 15 — Last day to present bills to Governor.

November 27 — Last day for Governor to sign or veto bills.

December 1 — Convening of 1987-88 Regular Session.

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		11111 Santa Monica Blvd., #915, Los Angeles 90025	(213) 556-4307
		450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-4307
		1130 "O" St., #4015, Fresno 93721	(209) 487-5727

Pete Wilson

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Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Office**	Telephone	Name
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Badham, Robert	R	40	Orange	180 Newport Center Dr., Newport Beach 92660	(714) 644-4040	**Badham**
Bates, Jim	D	44	San Diego	880 Front St., Rm. 5-S-35, San Diego 92188	(619) 234-2766	**Bates**
Beilenson, Anthony C.	D	23	Los Angeles	11000 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 14223, Los Angeles 90024	(213) 209-7801	**Beilenson**
Berman, Howard	D	26	Los Angeles	14600 Roscoe Blvd., Panorama City 91402	(818) 891-0543	**Berman**
Bosco, Douglas H.	D	1	Del Norte, Glenn, Humboldt, Mendocino, Sonoma, Napa, Lake	777 Sonoma Ave., Suite 329, Santa Rosa 95404	(707) 525-4235	**Bosco**
Boxer, Barbara	D	6	Marin, San Francisco, Solano	901 Irwin St., San Rafael 94901	(415) 457-7272	**Boxer**
Brown, George E. Jr.	D	36	San Bernardino, Riverside	657 N. La Cadena Dr., Colton 92324	(714) 825-2472	**Brown**
Burton, Sala	D	5	San Francisco	450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-4862	**Burton**
Chappie, Eugene	R	2	Butte, Colusa, Lake, Napa, Shasta, Sutter, Tehama, Yuba, Glenn, Nevada, Siskiyou	500 Cohasset Road, #30, Chico 95926	(916) 893-8363	**Chappie**
Coelho, Tony	D	15	Merced, Mariposa, Stanislaus, Fresno	415 W. 18th St., Federal Bldg., Merced 95340	(209) 383-4455	**Coelho**
Dannemeyer, William	R	39	Orange	1235 N. Harbor Blvd., #100, Fullerton 92632	(714) 992-0141	**Dannemeyer**
Dellums, Ronald V.	D	8	Alameda, Contra Costa	201 13th St., Room 105, Oakland 94617	(415) 763-0370	**Dellums**
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Bergeson, Marian	R	37	Orange	140 Newport Center Dr., #120, Newport Beach 92660	(714) 640-1137	445-4961	**Bergeson**
Beverly, Robert G.	R	29	Los Angeles	1611 S. Pacific Coast Highway, Redondo Beach 90277	(213) 540-1611	445-6447	**Beverly**
Boatwright, Dan	D	7	Contra Costa	1035 Detroit Ave., #200, Concord 94518	(415) 689-1973	445-6083	**Boatwright**
Campbell, William	R	31	Los Angeles, Orange	1661 Hanover Road, City of Industry 91748	(818) 964-1443	445-2848	**Campbell**
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Ellis, Jim	H	39	San Diego	2755 Navajo Rd., El Cajon 92020	(619) 464-7204	445-3952	**Ellis**
Foran, John F.	D	8	San Francisco, San Mateo	15 Southgate Ave., #238, Daly City 94015	(415) 755-1766	445-0503	**Foran**
Garamendi, John	D	5	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, Mono, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Tuolumne, Yolo	31 E. Channel St., #440, Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7930	445-2407	**Garamendi**
Greene, Bill	D	27	Los Angeles	8514 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90003-3387	(213) 620-5600	445-2104	**Greene, B.**
Greene, Leroy F.	D	6	Sacramento	P.O. Box 254646, Sacramento 95825	(916) 481-6540	445-7807	**Greene, L.**
Hart, Gary	D	18	Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Ventura	1216 State St., #507, Santa Barbara 93101	(805) 966-1766	445-5405	**Hart**
Keene, Barry	D	2	Del Norte, Humbolt, Mendocino, Sonoma, Solano	631 Tennessee St., Vallejo 94590	(707) 648-4080	445-3375	**Keene**
Lockyer, Bill	D	10	Alameda	22300 Foothill Blvd., #415, Hayward 94541	(415) 582-8800	445-6671	**Lockyer**
Maddy, Ken	R	14	Fresno, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Monterey	3433 W. Shaw Ave., #119, Fresno 93711	(209) 445-5567	445-9600	**Maddy**
Marks, Milton	R	3	San Francisco, Marin	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-1437	445-1412	**Marks**
McCorquodale, Dan	D	12	Santa Clara, Stanislaus	100 Paseo de San Antonio, San Jose 95113	(408) 277-1470	445-3104	**McCorquodale**
Mello, Henry	D	17	Monterey, San Benito, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz	1200 Aguajito Rd., Monterey 93940	(408) 373-0773	445-5843	**Mello**
Montoya, Joseph	D	26	Los Angeles	11001 Valley Mall, #204, El Monte 91731	(818) 575-6956	445-3386	**Montoya**
Morgan, Rebecca	R	11	San Mateo, Santa Clara	830 Menlo Ave., #100, Menlo Park 94025	(415) 321-1451	445-6747	**Morgan**
Nielsen, Jim	R	4	Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Lake, Napa, Shasta, Sonoma, Tehama	1074 East Ave., #N, Chico 95926	(916) 343-3546	445-3353	**Nielsen**
Petris, Nicholas C.	D	9	Alameda, Contra Costa	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	(415) 464-1333	445-6577	**Petris**
Presley, Robert B.	D	36	Riverside	3600 Lime St., Riverside 92501	(714) 781-4111	445-9781	**Presley**
Richardson, H. L.	R	25	Inyo, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	211 S. Glendora Blvd., #C, Glendora 91740	(818) 914-5855	445-3688	**Richardson**
Robbins, Alan	D	20	Los Angeles	5160 Van Nuys Blvd., #400, Van Nuys 91401	(818) 901-5555	445-3121	**Robbins**
Roberti, David	D	23	Los Angeles	3800 Barham Blvd., Hollywood, 90068	(213) 876-5200	445-8390	**Roberti**
Rosenthal, Herschel	D	22	Los Angeles	11340 W. Olympic Blvd., #250, Los Angeles 90064	(213) 479-5588	445-7928	**Rosenthal**
Royce, Edward R.	R	32	Orange	1661 N. Raymond Ave., #211, Anaheim 92801	(714) 871-0270	445-5831	**Royce**
Russell, Newton R.	R	21	Los Angeles	401 N. Brand Blvd., Glendale 91203	(818) 247-7021	445-5976	**Russell**
Seymour, John	R	35	Orange	2150 Towne Center Place, #205, Anaheim 92806-6126	(714) 685-1700	445-4264	**Seymour**
Stiern, Walter W.	D	16	Kern, Kings, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	1311 California Ave., #A, Bakersfield 93304	(805) 395-2797	445-6637	**Stiern**
Torres, Art	D	24	Los Angeles	548 S. Spring St., #500, Los Angeles 90013	(213) 627-5333	445-3456	**Torres**
Vuich, Rose Ann	D	15	Fresno, Tulare	120 W. Tulare, Dinuba 93618	(209) 591-5005	445-4641	**Vuich**
Watson, Diane E.	D	28	Los Angeles	4401 Crenshaw Blvd., #300, Los Angeles 90043	(213) 295-6655	445-5215	**Watson**

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Agnos, Art	D	16	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., #1064, San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2253	445-8253	**Agnos**
Alatorre, Richard	D	55	Los Angeles	5200 York Blvd., Los Angeles 90042	(213) 255-7111	445-7587	**Alatorre**
Allen, Doris	R	71	Orange	5911 Cerritos Ave., Cypress 90630	(714) 821-1500	445-6233	**Allen**
Areias, Rusty	D	25	Santa Clara, Monterey, Merced, San Benito	140 Central Ave., #203, Salinas 93901	(408) 422-4344	445-7380	**Areias**
Bader, Charles W.	R	65	Los Angeles, San Bernardino	203 W. G St., Ontario 91762	(714) 983-6011	445-8490	**Bader**
Baker, William	R	15	Contra Costa, Alameda	1243 Alpine Rd., Suite 102, Walnut Creek 94596	(415) 932-2537	445-8528	**Baker**
Bane, Tom	D	40	Los Angeles	5430 Van Nuys Blvd., #206, Van Nuys 91401	(818) 986-8090	445-3134	**Bane**
Bates, Tom	D	12	Alameda, Contra Costa	1414 Walnut St., Berkeley 94709	(415) 540-3176	445-7554	**Bates**
Bradley, Bill	R	76	San Diego, Riverside	125 W. Mission Ave., #101, Escondido 92025	(619) 489-8924	445-8211	**Bradley**
Bronzan, Bruce	D	31	Fresno	2115 Kern St., #205, Fresno 93721	(209) 445-5532	445-8514	**Bronzan**
Brown, Dennis	R	58	Los Angeles, Orange	1945 Palo Verde Ave., #203, Long Beach 90815	(213) 493-5514	445-8492	**Brown**
Brown, Willie L., Jr.	D	17	San Francisco	540 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-0784	445-8077	**Brown**
Calderon, Charles	D	59	Los Angeles	1712 W. Beverly Blvd. #202, Montebello 90640	(213) 721-2904	445-0854	**Calderon**
Campbell, Robert	D	11	Contra Costa	2901 MacDonald Ave., Richmond 94804	(415) 237-8171	445-7890	**Campbell**
Chacon, Peter R.	D	79	San Diego	1129 G. St., San Diego 92101	(619) 232-2405	445-7610	**Chacon**
Clute, Steve	D	68	Riverside	3600 Lime St., #716, Riverside 92501	(714) 781-3222	445-5416	**Clute**
Condit, Gary	D	27	Stanislaus, Merced	948 11 St., Suite 10, Modesto 95354	(209) 576-6211	445-8570	**Condit**
Connelly, Lloyd G.	D	6	Sacramento	2705 K St., Suite 6, Sacramento 95816	(916) 443-1183	445-2484	**Connelly**
Cortese, Dominic	D	24	Santa Clara	100 Paseo de San Antonio, #300, San Jose 95113	(408) 269-6500	445-8243	**Cortese**
Costa, Jim	D	30	Madera, Fresno, Merced, Kings	1111 Fulton Mall, #914, Fresno 93721	(209) 264-3078	445-7558	**Costa**
Davis, Gray	D	43	Los Angeles	9418 Wilshire Blvd., #412, Beverly Hills 90212	(213) 275-7002	445-4956	**Davis**
Duffy, Jean	D	5	Sacramento, Placer	6830-C Antelope Rd., Citrus Heights 95610	(916) 969-9388	445-4445	**Duffy**
Eaves, Gerald R.	D	66	San Bernardino	241 E. Baseline, #D, Rialto 92376	(714) 820-1902	445-4843	**Eaves**
Elder, Dave	D	57	Los Angeles	245 W. Broadway, #300, Long Beach 90802	(213) 590-5009	445-7454	**Elder**
Farr, Sam	D	28	Monterey, Santa Cruz	1200 Aguajito, Monterey 93940	(408) 646-1980	445-8496	**Farr**
Felando, Gerald	R	51	Los Angeles	1514 Cabrillo Ave., Torrance 90501	(213) 320-6262	445-7906	**Felando**
Ferguson, Gil	R	70	Orange	4667 MacArthur Blvd., #305, Newport Beach 92660	(714) 756-0665	445-7222	**Ferguson**
Filante, Bill	R	9	Marin, Sonoma	30 N. San Pedro Rd., #135, San Rafael 94903	(415) 479-4920	445-7827	**Filante**
Floyd, Richard E.	D	53	Los Angeles	16921 S. Western Ave., #220, Gardena 90247	(213) 516-4037	445-0965	**Floyd**
Frazee, Robert C.	R	74	San Diego, Orange	3088 Pio Pico Dr., Suite 200, Carlsbad 92008	(619) 434-1749	445-2390	**Frazee**
Frizzelle, Nolan	R	69	Orange	17195 Newhope, #201, Fountain Valley 92708	(714) 662-5503	445-8377	**Frizzelle**
Grisham, Wayne	R	63	Los Angeles	13710 Studebaker Rd., #202, Norwalk 90650	(213) 929-1797	445-6047	**Grisham**
Hannigan, Tom	D	4	Yolo, Solano	844 Union Ave., #A, Fairfield 94533	(707) 429-2383	445-8368	**Hannigan**
Harris, Elihu	D	13	Alameda	1111 Jackson St., #5027, Oakland 94607	(415) 464-0339	445-7442	**Harris**
Hauser, Dan	D	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino, Sonoma	1334 5th St., #G, Eureka 95501	(707) 443-7014	445-8360	**Hauser**
Hayden, Tom	D	44	Los Angeles	1337 Santa Monica Mall, #313, Santa Monica 90401	(213) 393-2717	445-1676	**Hayden**
Herger, Wally	R	3	Colusa, Sutter, Yuba, Sierra, Nevada, Butte	1521 Butte House Rd., #C, Yuba City 95991	(916) 673-2201	445-7298	**Herger**
Hill, Frank	R	52	Los Angeles	15111 E. Whittier Blvd., #385, Whittier 90603	(213) 945-7681	445-7550	**Hill**
Hughes, Teresa P.	D	47	Los Angeles	3253 S. Hoover St., #A, Los Angeles 90007	(213) 747-7451	445-7498	**Hughes**
Isenberg, Phil	D	10	Sacramento, San Joaquin, Contra Costa	1215 15th St., #102, Sacramento 95814	(916) 324-4676	445-1611	**Isenberg**

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Johnson, Ross	R	64	Orange	1501 N. Harbor Blvd., #201, Fullerton 92635	(714) 738-5853	445-7448	**Johnson**
Johnston, Pat	D	26	San Joaquin	31 E. Channel St., #306, Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7479	445-7931	**Johnston**
Jones, Bill	R	32	Fresno, Tulare, Madera, Mariposa	1441 S. Mooney Blvd., #D, Visalia 93277	(209) 734-1182	445-2931	**Jones**
Katz, Richard	D	39	Los Angeles	9140 Van Nuys Blvd., #109, Panorama City 91402	(818) 894-3671	445-1616	**Katz**
Kelley, David	R	73	Riverside	41555 E. Florida, #E Hemet 92343	(714) 652-5023	445-7852	**Kelley**
Killea, Lucy	D	78	San Diego	2550 5th Ave., #1020, San Diego 92103	(619) 232-2046	445-7210	**Killea**
Klehs, Johan	D	14	Alameda	2450 Washington Ave., #270, San Leandro 94577	(415) 464-0847	445-8160	**Klehs**
Konnyu, Ernest	R	22	Santa Clara	456 El Paseo de Saratoga, San Jose 95130	(408) 446-4114	445-8305	**Konnyu**
LaFollette, Marian W.	R	38	Los Angeles	11145 Tampa Ave., #17A, Northridge 91326	(818) 368-3838	445-8366	**LaFollette**
Lancaster, Bill	R	62	Los Angeles, San Bernardino	362 E. Rowland St., Covina 91723	(818) 332-6271	445-9234	**Lancaster**
Leonard, William	R	61	San Bernardino	1323 W. Colton Ave., #101, Redlands 92373	(714) 798-4242	445-7552	**Leonard**
Lewis, John R.	R	67	Orange	626 E. Chapman Ave., Orange 92666	(714) 997-9270	445-2778	**Lewis**
Margolin, Burt M.	D	45	Los Angeles	8425 W. 3rd St., #406, Los Angeles 90048	(213) 655-9750	445-7440	**Margolin**
McAlister, Alister	D	18	Santa Clara, Alameda	554 Valley Way, Milpitas 95035	(408) 263-5300	445-7874	**McAlister**
McClintock, Tom	R	36	Ventura	350 N. Lantana, #222, Paseo Camarillo, Camarillo 93010	(805) 987-9797	445-7402	**McClintock**
Mojonnier, Sunny	R	75	San Diego	3368 Governor Dr., Suite C, San Diego 92122	(619) 457-5775	445-2112	**Mojonnier**
Molina, Gloria	D	56	Los Angeles	5261 E. Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles 90022	(213) 721-5557	445-1670	**Molina**
Moore, Gwen	D	49	Los Angeles	3731 Stocker St., #106, Los Angeles 90008	(213) 292-0605	445-8800	**Moore**
Mountjoy, Richard	R	42	Los Angeles	406 S. 1st Ave., Arcadia 91006	(818) 446-3134	445-7234	**Mountjoy**
Naylor, Robert W.	R	20	San Mateo	666 Elm St., San Carlos 94070	(415) 591-5544	445-8188	**Naylor**
Nolan, Patrick J.	R	41	Los Angeles	143 S. Glendale Ave., #208, Glendale 91205	(818) 240-6330	445-8364	**Nolan**
O'Connell, Jack	D	35	Santa Barbara, Ventura	127 El Paseo, Santa Barbara 93101	(805) 966-2296	445-8292	**O'Connell**
Papan, Louis J.	D	19	San Mateo, San Francisco	345-E Serramonte Plaza, Daly City 94015	(415) 756-6400	445-8020	**Papan**
Peace, Steve	D	80	Imperial, San Diego	430 Davidson St., #B, Chula Vista 92010	(619) 426-1617	445-7556	**Peace**
Robinson, Richard	D	72	Orange	11400 Stanford Ave., #B, Garden Grove 92640	(714) 530-7200	445-7333	**Robinson**
Rogers, Don	R	33	Kern, Tulare	1326 H St., #15, Bakersfield 93301	(805) 395-2927	445-8498	**Rogers**
Roos, Michael	D	46	Los Angeles	600 S. New Hampshire Ave., Los Angeles 90005	(213) 386-8042	445-7644	**Roos**
Seastrand, Eric	R	29	Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara	1012 Mill St., San Luis Obispo 93401	(805) 549-3381	445-7795	**Seastrand**
Sebastiani, Don	R	8	Napa, Lake, Sonoma, Yolo	710 W. Napa St., #2, Sonoma 95476	(707) 996-2746	445-8102	**Sebastiani**
Sher, Byron	D	21	Santa Clara, San Mateo	795-C Castro St., Mt. View 94041	(415) 961-6031	445-7632	**Sher**
Statham, Stan	R	1	Butte, Glenn, Lassen, Modoc, Plumas, Shasta, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity	429 Red Cliff Dr., #200, Redding 96002	(916) 223-6300	445-7266	**Statham**
Stirling, Larry	R	77	San Diego	7777 Alvarado Rd., #377, La Mesa 92041	(619) 237-7777	445-6161	**Stirling**
Tanner, Sally	D	60	Los Angeles	11100 Valley Blvd., Suite 106, El Monte 91731	(818) 442-9100	445-7783	**Tanner**
Tucker, Curtis R.	D	50	Los Angeles	1 Manchester Blvd., Inglewood 90306	(213) 412-6400	445-7533	**Tucker**
Vasconcellos, John	D	23	Santa Clara	100 Paseo de San Antonio, #106, San Jose 95113	(408) 288-7515	445-4253	**Vasconcellos**
Vicencia, Frank	D	54	Los Angeles	16600 Civic Center Dr., #233, Bellflower 90706	(213) 804-1436	445-7486	**Vicencia**
Waters, Maxine	D	48	Los Angeles	7900 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 90001	(213) 582-7371	445-2363	**Waters, M.**
Waters, Norman	D	7	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mono, Placer, Tuolumne, Sacramento	250 Main St., Placerville 95667	(916) 626-4954	445-8343	**Waters, N.**
Wright, Cathie	R	37	Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Ventura	250 E. Easy St., #7, Simi Valley 93065	(805) 522-2920	445-7676	**Wright**
Wyman, Phil	R	34	Inyo, Kern, Los Angeles	5405 Stockdale Hwy., #112, Bakersfield 93309	(805) 395-2673	445-3266	**Wyman**

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Health and Human Services
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Vice Chair: Royce (R)
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Democrats: Carpenter, Torres
Republican: Bergeson
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Republicans: Bergeson, Seymour
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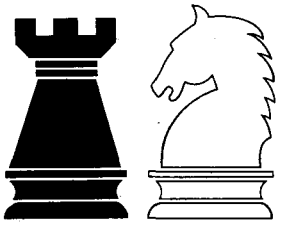

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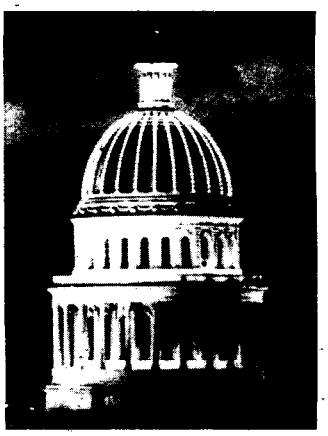

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KEEPING TRACK OF LEGISLATION

Daily Files. The *Daily File* for each house is an agenda of the day's business. It lists all measures to be taken upon the floor in the order in which they are to be dealt with, and it also lists all committee hearings and the bills scheduled for hearing before each committee. Under the provisions of the Assembly rules, notice of bills set for hearing by any committee or subcommittee must be published in the *Daily File* for three consecutive days prior to the hearing, unless there is a special waiver. The Senate rules now also require the calendar for regular committee meetings to be printed in the *Daily File* and at least two days in advance of the meeting. In addition, the *Daily File* provides an up-to-date list of the membership of all standing committees of each house.

The Daily Journals. The *Daily Journal* of each house contains a "true and correct" account of that chamber's proceedings of the preceding day. This includes the titles of all measures introduced, considered or acted upon by each house, the texts of amendments to these measures and of house resolutions, roll calls, messages from the governor and the other house, committee reports, motions, and acknowledgement of any communications. Senate committee votes are recorded and published in the Senate *Journal,* but the Assembly reports its committee votes in a separate appendix to the Assembly *Journal.*

The History. Each chamber's *History* shows the action taken on all measures on the file for action that day (except for measures passed on file) and all committee actions on bills. A *Weekly History,* published at the end of the week, summarizes the daily accounts and contains the titles of all measures introduced up to the end of that week, and the committees to which they were assigned, along with any action taken on them and the date on which it was taken.

Legislative Index. At intervals during the session, a *Legislative Index* is published, listing by subject all bills introduced in the Legislature. It also contains a table showing which sections of the constitution and statutes are affected by the measures introduced.

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Note: "C" indicates subcommittee chair

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California's Legislative Process

Initial steps by author

IDEA

Sources of bills: legislators, legislative committees, governor, state and local governmental agencies, business firms, lobbyists, citizens.

DRAFTING

Formal copy of bill and "layman's digest" prepared by Legislative Counsel.

INTRODUCTION

Bill submitted by senator or Assembly member. Numbered and read for first time. Assigned to committee by Assembly or Senate Rules Committee. Printed.

Action in house of origin

COMMITTEE

Testimony taken from author, proponents and opponents. Typical actions: Do pass; amend and do pass; no action; hold in committee (kill); amend and re-refer to same committee; refer to another committee; send to interim study.

Appropriation bills, if approved by policy committee, are referred to Finance Committee in the Senate and to Ways and Means Committee in the Assembly.

SECOND READING

Bills given do-pass recommendations are read a second time and placed on file for debate.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

Bills are read a third time and debated. A roll-call vote follows. For ordinary bills, 21 votes are needed in the Senate and 41 in the Assembly. For urgency bills and appropriation measures, 27 and 54 votes are required. If these numbers are not reached, the bill is defeated. Any member may seek reconsideration and a second vote. If passed or passed with amendments, the bill is sent to the second house.

Disposition in second house

READING

Bill is read for the first time and referred to committee by the Assembly or Senate Rules Committee.

COMMITTEE

Procedures and possible actions are identical to those in the first house.

SECOND READING

If cleared by committee, the bill is read a second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate and vote.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

The procedure is identical to the first house. If a bill is passed without having been amended in the second house, it is sent to the governor's desk. (Resolutions are sent to the secretary of state's office.) If amended in the second house and passed, the measure returns to the house of origin for consideration of amendments.

Resolution of two-house differences (if necessary)

CONCURRENCE

The house of origin decides whether to accept the second-house amendments. If the amendments are approved, the bill is sent to the governor. If the amendments are rejected, the bill is placed in the hands of a two-house conference committee composed of three senators and three Assembly members.

CONFERENCE

If the conferees fail to present a report, the bill dies. If the conferees present a recommendation for compromise, both houses vote on the report. If the report is adopted by both, the bill goes to the governor. If either house rejects the report, a second (and even a third) conference committee can be formed.

Role of the governor

SIGN OR VETO?

Within 12 days after receiving a bill, the governor can sign it into law, allow it to become law without his signature or veto it. A vetoed bill returns to the house of origin for possible vote on overriding the veto. It requires a two-thirds majority of both houses to override.

Urgency measures become effective immediately after signing. Others usually take effect the following January 1st.

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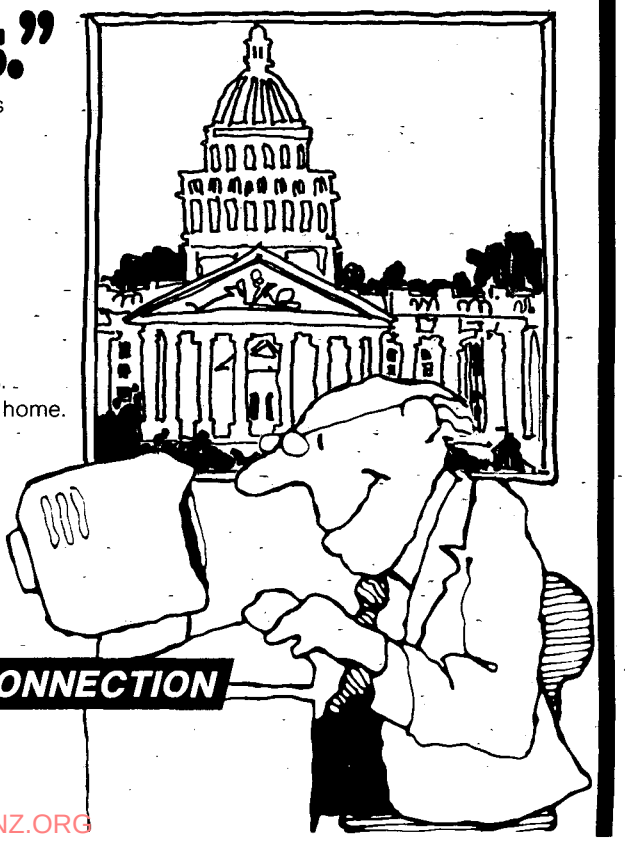

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Willie Brown's WARLORD

Chief of Staff Richie Ross has the reins of policy and power firmly in hand

By BRUCE SCHEIDT

The red Porsche pitched a high-speed whir as it sprinted into the Rainbow R Ranch in Placer County. Its restless driver, Richie Ross, had just flown back to California from a Texas business trip where he was a consultant on Houston Mayor Kathy Whitmire's successful reelection campaign. Before he could enjoy a quiet moment with his family, he was leading his wife and four children on a modern-day roundup, using a four-wheel motorcycle to corral 107 head of cattle.

It was a typical day for the 36-year-old chief of staff to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, a San Francisco Democrat. A bundle of energy, Ross is no stranger to hard work and managing his time efficiently, qualities that caught the eye of the Assembly speaker and other politicians who have guided his fast-track rise to the top.

"I think Richie is the only staff guy who can keep up with Willie Brown in terms of energy and drive," says Ross' good friend and political mentor, San Francisco Democratic Assemblyman Art Agnos. "He can do anything he puts his mind to."

Ross was named to the $74,640-a-year chief-of-staff position last September. At the time, he was director of the Assembly Office of Majority Services, thus running the Democrats' political operation and staff (see following story). His new role gave Ross two hats to wear inside the Assembly: head of the supposedly non-partisan speaker's office and also the person in charge of campaigns for Assembly Democrats. (Ross has since been replaced as head of Majority Services by William Cavala. But although Cavala runs the day-to-day operation, no one doubts that Ross is still the speaker's main man when it comes to political strategy and campaigns.) As chief of staff, Ross replaced Steve Thompson, who resigned last July. The change from Thompson to Ross also signaled a shift of emphasis for the office closest to the speaker. While Thompson approached things mostly from a policy perspective, Ross is clearly oriented toward things political.

But Ross also wears a hat outside the Assembly; he heads Ross Communications — a private, for-profit, campaign-management firm that handles reelection campaigns for, among others, many Democratic Assembly members. In fact, Ross claims that his firm will net more than $100,000 this year from Assembly Democratic campaigns alone.

Because of Ross' position as Speaker Brown's campaign guru, his appointment as chief of staff marked an unprecedented concentration of power and control over Assembly activities in the hands of two men — Brown and Ross. As such, it has raised a few eyebrows.

Walter Zelman, director of California Common Cause, said the appointment "doesn't set the right tone" because it signals that "policy has to be considered in terms of campaign needs. It accentuates the suggestion that campaign strategy, campaign money and campaign tactics are going to be more important than the direction of public policy."

But Democratic Assemblyman Jack O'Connell of Carpinteria sees benefits in merging policy and politics. "Richie and I had many discussions in 1984 (about my campaign for reelection), and most of those discussions centered on how I could use my stands on policy issues to get votes in my district."

The perceived conflict doesn't bother Speaker Brown, either. He notes that Ross' campaign activities do not take place on state time.

Brown calls Ross "absolutely brilliant, independent as hell, passionately dedicated . . . totally trustworthy and honest as the day is long." He adds, "Richie has one of the finest minds encased in a human body. I'm a great admirer of brains."

While the speaker and his chief of staff share ideals and mutual respect, their relationship is strictly professional. They do not socialize away from work, and Ross says the two

Bruce Scheidt is Capitol correspondent for the Bakersfield Californian.

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don't talk all that much. The conversation in which Brown asked Ross to be chief of staff lasted less than a minute.

"It's a non-verbal relationship," Ross said. "We can read each other's signals."

Says Brown, "It doesn't take a whole lot of socializing to communicate."

A natural leader

A voluble and natural leader, Ross is profane and brash. Some call him ruthless. But his friends see another side. "He's a loving father and devoted family man," said one friend. "He's sort of a private person."

Ross and his Mexican wife, Juana, represent the American dream. Just 12 years ago they were field hands picking vegetables in the Salinas Valley. They now own and live on an 80-acre ranch 40 miles northeast of Sacramento. Juana runs the ranch, but Richie pitches in a couple hours every morning. The Rosses also own another home in Sacramento and an office building in downtown Sacramento, which is headquarters for Ross Communications, his campaign-management firm. Altogether, their property holdings are worth more than a half-million dollars, according to public records.

Born Richard P. Ross, he was raised in a tough, working-class neighborhood in New York City. His father was a brokerage-firm clerk and die-hard Republican. After high school he enrolled at St. Mary's Seminary just outside Baltimore to study for the priesthood. The setting was an incubator for political activism, and Ross was captivated by it all.

A visit to Baltimore by Cesar Chavez in 1969 made him aware of the farm-worker movement a continent away. The following year, as a 19-year-old student, Ross organized a rally in support of farm workers and landed Coretta Scott King as a speaker. "Two weeks later I was on the road to California to be with the farm workers. I thought it was a big deal," he recalls.

Chavez put the idealistic seminary student to work as an organizer. Ross was signing up field hands at a King City (Monterey County) labor camp when he met Juana, a farm worker who had been in the country for only a month and spoke no English. They were married two years later.

He decided to leave the UFW after a three-year volunteer stint but had problems finding work so took a job harvesting crops for three months. "I had a great job resumé — college drop-out, Cesar Chavez as a reference. Charming!"

The employment opportunities did not brighten, so Ross, who by then had a family to support, took his wife and children back to New York City. At first, he juggled three jobs at once — running a recreation center at a Catholic orphanage, painting apartments and managing an apartment building. But his wife wanted to be near her family, so they moved back to Salinas where Ross got a job as a youth-development director with the County of Monterey. "I organized low riders," he says.

He took night courses at San Jose State University, which led to an internship at the Coro Foundation in San Francisco. He found a job as night clerk for a seedy Tenderloin hotel; but the money was insufficient, so his wife took the children back to Salinas, where she again worked in the fields.

A fortuitous trip

In 1974, while serving as a legislative intern in San Francisco in the Coro program, Ross got on a bus and visited the state Capitol. It would be a fortuitous turn in his life. While in the Capitol he met Art Agnos, then chief of staff to former Speaker Leo McCarthy, the current lieutenant governor. Agnos, who remembers Ross as "this skinny little kid," gave him a ride back to San Francisco.

"He didn't really volunteer much," Agnos said. "I had to draw it out of him. He handled my probing questions in an astute way for what you'd call a rookie. I thought, 'This kid has the immigrant drive.' I look for that."

Proving himself a natural talent at politics, Ross worked successively for McCarthy, Senator John Foran of San Francisco and Agnos. When McCarthy lost his speakership in 1981 and was replaced by Brown, Ross went to the new speaker and asked to be considered for chief administrative officer of the Assembly Rules Committee. "Mr. Brown had told everybody he wasn't hiring me," Ross said. Nevertheless, he got the job.

The speaker asked Ross to step down from the Rules Committee job in 1982 to run Assembly Democrats' campaigns, where his organizational skills would be needed. That year 16 new Democrats were elected. He now says that Assembly Democrats have won 34 of 35 races he has been responsible for.

Ross has a reputation for running effective and creative campaigns. Democratic consultant David Townsend of Sacramento, a friend, compares Ross to a test pilot who's always trying to stretch the limits. "He's tough, aggressive, smart, innovative and willing to try new things. But sometimes he gets carried away (trying to be creative)," Townsend says.

Ross says he is always looking for new ways to deliver a campaign message so no one can predict what he will do next. But occasionally his innovative urge misses the mark, he confesses. "Because I want to be the very best, I am the first to admit to that," Ross says.

Ross is a proud man who does not let an offender get away with impunity. Recently he refused to return a newspaper reporter's telephone calls until the reporter had been beaten on a story involving Ross. The offense? Ross was angry because the reporter had picked up, from Speaker Brown's desk, a magazine article and read it.

Track record

Some call Ross ruthless. Others say he is intimidating. "He takes advantage of people's weaknesses," said a Democratic campaign consultant who once worked with Ross. "He will do anything to get people to do what he wants."

Although no one challenges Ross' racial tolerance, a Republican campaign consultant says that Ross can be ruthless to the point of exploiting race. The Republican says that 1984 campaign literature for Democratic Assemblyman Steve Clute of Riverside referred to his GOP challenger as "Gilberto" Olivarria when Olivarria always referred to himself as Gil. The Republican campaign thought it was a deliberate attempt to accentuate Olivarria's ethnic background and turn off Anglo voters.

Ross — who has named his children Joaquin, Esperanza, Diego and Maya — brushes aside the criticism. "I thought that was his name. If that's the worst thing they can say about me, I can live with it."

Ross also can play hardball with Democratic candidates who receive Speaker Brown's money. In 1984 he pulled his operative out of candidate Gene Tackett's campaign against Assemblyman Don Rogers in Bakersfield — without telling Tackett beforehand. Tackett was baffled, not knowing where his campaign consultant had gone. Ross, who did not think Tackett was working hard enough, would not return Tackett's phone calls for days.

Doug Watts, a Republican campaign consultant in Sacramento, said he holds Ross' intelligence and savvy in high regard but cannot understand Ross' reputation as a winning campaign manager. "He really hasn't managed anything to my knowledge other than the Joe Serna race (for Sacramento mayor), and he lost that," Watts said. "He has no record to base it on — good, bad or ugly."

Ross admits he does not do the day-to-day management of Assembly Democratic campaigns. "I'm an organizer. I understand management. I run a political operation that runs campaigns."

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His Ross Communications, which includes a television-production studio, will earn him more than $100,000 this year on Assembly Democratic campaigns alone.

"I'm managing the Rolls Royce of campaigns," Ross says. "I don't have to worry about money. I have solid pros in the campaigns. I'm a leader of a team of people."

Ross' free consulting work on the United Farm Workers' boycott of table grapes has caused some problems for the speaker. When Ross admitted his involvement during a 1983 newspaper interview, Brown had been nourishing a healthy relationship with growers. A former aide to the speaker said campaign donations from agriculture were "a good flowing river" that "turned into a trickle" after the news reports.

Ross said he approached the speaker about it. "My sense of honor says that if you feel I'm a liability," Ross told Brown, "I'll just leave quietly." Ross says he was told, "Richie, sometimes you're going to be a liability to me and sometimes I'll be a liability to you, but that's the nature of friendship."

The speaker emphatically denies that Ross' UFW involvement has even come up in conversations he's had with growers. "I say people ought to take me on based upon my performance, rather than what some of my staff people may be doing or not doing in their private capacity," the speaker said. Ross has no intention of abandoning the UFW. The union's purpose is too close to home: His wife has five sisters who were poisoned by pesticides doing field work two years ago.

"Some of the people I love more than anyone else are farm workers, man," Ross said. "It don't make me a hero. They are who I am. They stay at my home, they eat at my table."

They've come a long way from the Salinas fields, Richie and Juana Ross. Looking over the soft brown landscape of her foothill ranch, Juana says peacefully, "We often sit and can't believe it ourselves."

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4 = Enter and edit cash receipts
5 = Enter and edit cash disbursements
6 = Occupation code file maintenance
7 = Display total pledged and paid
8 = Year end processing
9 = Word processing/direct mail Federal/California Reports
10 = CFS utilities

REPORTS MENU

1 = Contributor list — alpha
2 = Contributor master list
3 = Vendor master list
4 = Receipt transaction list
5 = Disbursement transaction list
6 = Mailing labels
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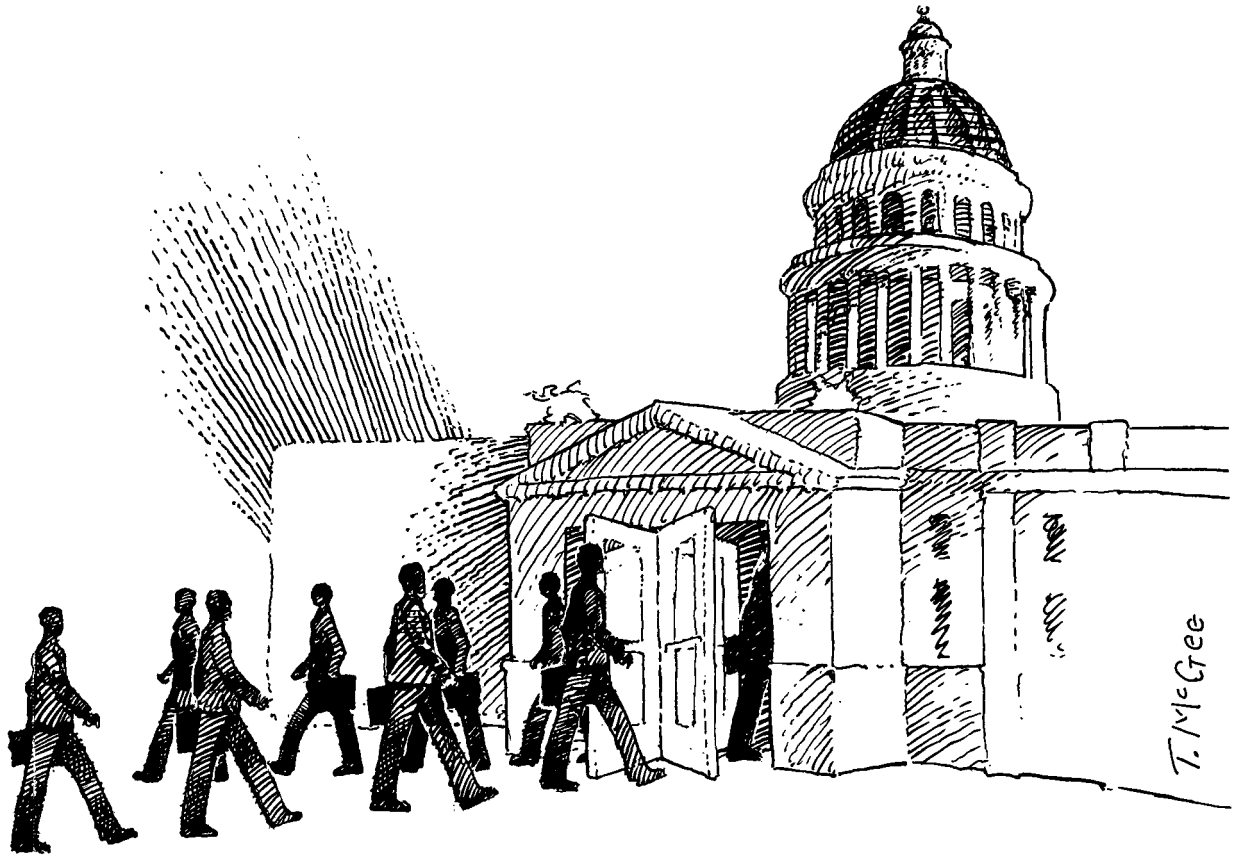

The legislature's political guns

Majority and minority services keep members happy — and reelected

By BRUCE SCHEIDT

On Veterans' Day following the 1984 general election, top political aides to former Assembly Republican Floor Leader Bob Naylor of Menlo Park were startled to see staff rivals cleaning out files from their offices. The new GOP leadership headed by Assemblyman Pat Nolan of Glendale had dispatched aides to confiscate political fund-raising and volunteer lists held by Naylor loyalists. Office locks were changed.

Some aides to former Minority Leader Naylor felt like outcasts in their own party; others felt degraded. All the top political staff under Naylor lost their state-paid jobs when Nolan took over the leadership reins. The firings had little or nothing to do with competence. They were a matter of loyalty -- the risk one assumes when taking a political staff assignment in the Legislature.

Tony Quinn, former policy director under Naylor, expected to be terminated. "One should understand there's no permancy to it," said Quinn, now the director of Governor George Deumejian's Office of Economic Research. "I did not view it as an attack on the job I'd done."

Until he was fired, Quinn worked for an organization that is all but openly political in its orientation, the Assembly Office of Minority Services — an organization that exists specifically to take care of the political needs of that house's Republicans. The Democratic counterpart is the Assembly Office of Majority Services. In a state with a tradition of an independent bureaucracy — which extends to a limited extent to other legislative employees — the operation of these two offices stands out as strikingly partisan. Even in the Senate, which also employs caucus staffs, the work is not nearly as political.

The Assembly's two political operations each employ more than 30 consultants and secretaries. Majority Services and its Republican counterpart analyze legislation, write speeches for members, develop legislative initiatives and advise new members how to run district offices — all accepted government services.

But nobody denies that caucus staffs work hardest at a clearly political task — keeping their members in office. A dozen or more staff will take leaves from the state payroll to run Assembly campaigns this year. Even those aides whose primary responsibility is to analyze legislation and develop policy do so with partisan advantage in mind.

A manual for success

Richie Ross, now Speaker Willie Brown's chief of staff, while he was director of Assembly Majority Services prepared an inch-thick, color-coded instruction manual that describes in stark terms just how effective Majority Services can be in helping Democrats stay electable. The manual advises, for example, that "proper use of telephone calls by both

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the member and staff is an effective method of solidifying existing constitutent support, as well as broadening the member's support base." It suggests members should reserve five minutes per day to place "cold calls" — preferably from the Assembly floor, which have the "greatest impact" — to major contributors, key endorsers, community VIP's, district volunteers and press.

In another section titled "The Creative Process," Ross outlines a sophisticated method for using taxpayer-funded mailing services to develop issues and identify groups which are concerned with those issues.

In one example, the manual says that a legislator's mail-sorter runs across a notice of a county proposing to change minimum chlorination levels in private swimming pools. It suggests letters should be sent to swimming pool service operators identified in the phone book, and to locally-established pool-industry organizations. "Once a district office has identified an issue, it must now develop the list of voters who would be concerned over the issue," the Majority Services manual says.

Ross admits the manual can be viewed as "cynical" in parts, but he thinks its broader purpose is beneficial to the public.

"The fundamental challenge is to be relevant to the lives of the voters so democracy flourishes," Ross says. "I want to make government and politics and the Legislature relevant to their lives . . . Would you prefer we do things that get them not to vote?"

Ross says those who criticize the use of tax dollars to pay for politically-motivated constitutent services are "essentially elitist." A non-political Legislature would be "sterile," Ross claims.

"I'm not ashamed of the politics," Ross says. "I'm ashamed of incompetent politics."

But Robert Monagan, the last Republican to serve as Assembly speaker, thinks the staff has become too large and too political. He remembers when the minority party had only three caucus staffers two decades ago. The Assembly Minority Services has expanded to 39 consultants and secretaries. The Assembly Majority Services employs 33. "I'm startled at the size of the staff," says Monagan, now president of the California Economic Development Board and a member of *California Journal's* board of directors. "I think that's more than they really need."

Some critics see Assembly Majority Services and its Republican counterpart as off-season employment agencies for campaign experts. Speaker Brown and Nolan deny it emphatically.

"They're talented people doing state work," Brown says, "and they really ought not be disqualified because they also have the ability to get people reelected. As citizens, they ought to be able to take a leave of absence if their employer chooses to permit it, whether they are Democrat or Republican, and go to work on campaigns and get paid for it."

Nolan said Republicans cannot be expected to give up staff and stay competitive. "Until we're the majority, we can't change the ground rules."

Public demands?

Brown says caucus staffs have grown because the public demands a great deal more from state government, especially legislators, and staff problems have become more complicated. He said Assembly Majority Services and the Republican political operation allow the Assembly to retain policy specialists on toxic wastes, crime and other areas and whose expertise can be used by the entire caucus membership.

"If I tried to staff each district with personnel and expertise required to perform those functions, there'd be no way we would be able to finance it," Brown said.

The upper house structures its staff much differently. Sen-

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ate Democrats and Republicans have, by comparison, small caucus staffs because senators have large individual staffs. Senate caucus consultants do not run campaigns — another factor that keeps caucus staffs smaller in the Senate. The Senate leadership, both Democrat and Republican, prefers to contract with private firms to manage Senate campaigns, whereas nearly every Assembly race of merit is managed by Sacramento-based staff.

The Assembly caucus operations tend to be more partisan. Ron Biron, former director of the Senate Republican Caucus, now heads the Senate's direct-mail operation — a significant show of good faith by Senate Democrats, given the political application of direct mail. The Assembly has separate direct-mail operations for Democrats and Republicans.

"We really have a different history in the Senate," said Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti of Hollywood. "We don't have a history of being suspicious of each other. Here, you aren't always looking over your shoulder."

In the Assembly, Majority and Minority Services prepare separate analyses of bills that reach the floor. But in the Senate, there is one jointly-operated office — composed of three Democratic and two Republican consultants — to review bills.

Assembly GOP Leader Nolan may be a tight-fisted conservative, but he believes the added expense of two separate, partisan bill analyses in the Assembly is worth the cost. "He who pays the piper calls the tune, and I think it applies here," Nolan says. "I don't think there's any Republican who would feel comfortable having (Rules Committee Chairman) Lou Papan (a Millbrae Democrat) hiring the people who prepare our bill analyses."

The Senate Republican leadership has no difficulty with a single bill-analysis service. "We get a pretty non-partisan, unbiased analysis," says Senate Republican Caucus Chairman John Seymour.

"There just isn't the same pressure on us to do the same things as in the Assembly," says Marty Wilson, director of the Senate Republican Caucus. Georgette Imura, director of the Senate Democratic Caucus, agrees. "Senators don't have to run every other year, so they don't have to constantly think about elections," Imura said.

Seymour credits Roberti for helping make cuts in caucus staffs following voter approval of the Gann initiative in 1984. The measure would have reduced legislative spending by 30 percent and slashed the powers of the Assembly speaker. Though a Sacramento County judge invalidated the measure and it has no legal force, Senate Republicans sliced their caucus staff to four from nine; Senate Democrats reduced their caucus staff to six from 11.

Fight over numbers

Although Assembly Minority Services employs more people than Majority Services, Assembly Republicans continue to grumble about the allocation of partisan staff. Nolan points out that Republicans have nothing to compare with Speaker Brown's personal staff of 30 consultants and secretaries, also nearly all committee staff is directed by Democrats.

The speaker's office, in rebuttal, put together an analysis last April justifying the current allocation. It showed that Democratic lawmakers have 59 percent, in terms of total salary, of all Assembly staff — caucus, committees, and personal staff — a proportion in line with their 58.75 percent of the members.

Republicans do not accept the figure as legitimate and quibble about which staff was included and left out of the calculations. The Assembly Office of Research and Assembly Rules Committee's support staff were not included, for example, and some Republicans view them as definitely partisan. Republicans also point out that the two largest Republican-chaired standing committees — Public Safety and Consumer Protection — have staffs that were largely hired by former Democratic chairmen.

Even so, the figures prepared by the speaker's office contained a "historic admission," according to Larry Doyle, Republican consultant to the Assembly Rules Committee. In an April 4, 1985, memo to Nolan, Brown said "it would not be unfair to consider" a full 30 percent of a committee consultant's time devoted to "personal/partisan" work.

Republicans believe that far more committee staff time is

BILL SARACINO

WILLIAM CAVALA

spent on partisan matters, particularly in the case of such things as subcommittees, which are sometimes created as an excuse to provide a member with additional staff, Doyle says.

A political staff job may not have much security, but it has its rewards. Quinn said his work as the Assembly Republicans' former policy director gave him more freedom than he ever could have achieved in a civil service job. "There's a sense you're helping articulate and implement policies that you think are good for the state," he said.

Democratic senior consultant Gale Kaufman, who has helped develop toxic-waste legislation for Democratic Assemblyman Jack O'Connell of Santa Barbara, says he has turned down better-paying jobs in the private sector. "I actually believe we do good work for people. I have the luxury of getting into good issues and making the most of them."

William Cavala, the new chief of Majority Services, said the public often fails to discern "the difference between political campaigns and a partisan role. Partisanship is part and parcel of state government by law. Issues of state government should be decided through an advisary process, and the two political parties play that role. If the parties are going to do that, they need to back them up."

There may not be a partisan way to fill potholes, but there are certainly partisan differences in education, welfare, and lots of other issues, Cavala added.

Bill Saracino, director of Assembly Minority Services, says he does not hire consultants who are looking to work in the Republican caucus for 40 years and retire. "We are looking for aggressive people who want to help make a difference."

Saracino did not understand the fuss created by the firing of former Minority Leader Naylor's political aides. "Frankly, I was surprised any of them would assume they would stick around with the fellow they were working against."

While the political guns were let go, Nolan kept all but one of Naylor's policy consultants. Nolan said he had "full confidence" in the policy staff, which is responsible for analyzing and developing legislative issues, but Nolan noted that they had to be "redirected" to reflect the thoughts of the new GOP leadership teams.

Staff should remain flexible, because Nolan's successor likely will do the same.

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100,000	1989	7	140,000	1994	8.20
105,000	1990	7¼	155,000	1995	8.40
115,000	1991	7½	165,000	1996	8½

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PRINCIPAL AMOUNTS, MATURITIES AND INTEREST RATES

$5,700,000 Serial Series 1985 Bonds

Principal Amount	Maturity	Interest Rate	Principal Amount	Maturity	Interest Rate
$405,000	1989	6.40%	$575,000	1994	7.60%
430,000	1990	6.70	620,000	1995	7.70
465,000	1991	7	670,000	1996	7.80
495,000	1992	7¼	725,000	1997	7.90
530,000	1993	7½	785,000	1998	8

$8,005,000 8½% Term Series 1985 Bonds, due January 1, 2006

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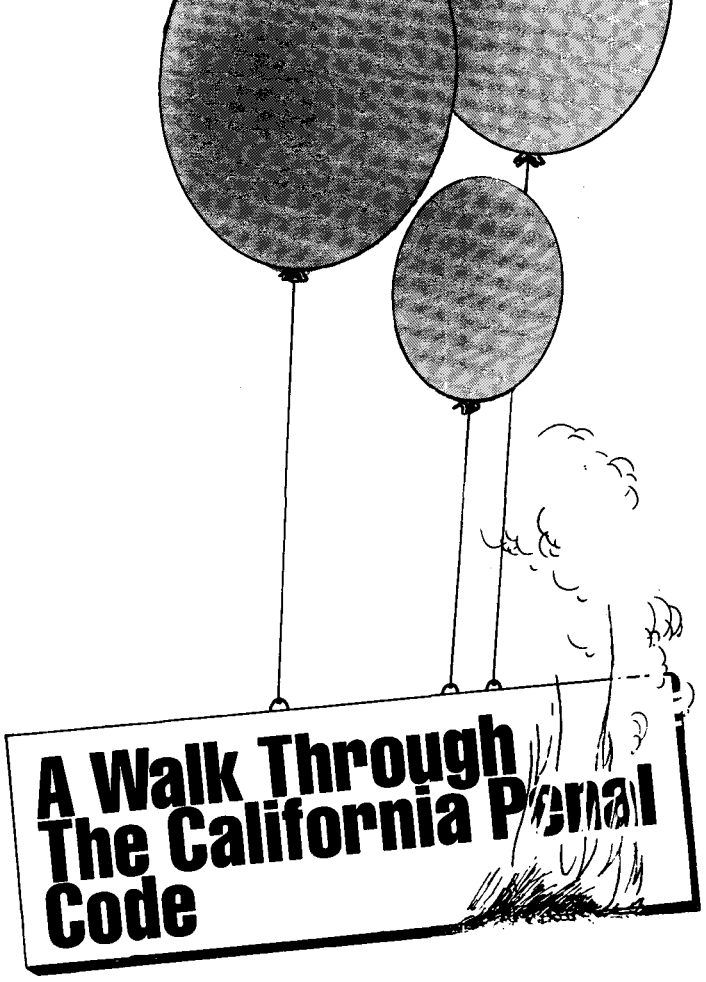

A Walk Through The California Penal Code

By DAVID R. ROSS

Most people curl up with a spy novel or such, as a change of pace. I decided one evening to take a walk through the California Penal Code. As a prosecuting attorney for the past 15 years I thought I knew what was against the law. Like most criminal lawyers, I had spent my career prosecuting murderers, rapists, robbers and thieves. But I'd never really read the Penal Code from cover-to-cover. It turned out to be an eye-opening journey.

For example, it's against the law (an infraction) to leave the scene of a ski accident and could cost up to $1000 in fines (Section 653i). Or how about opening a sealed letter? Section 618 says that's a misdemeanor. (The section says nothing about stamps or U.S. Mail, merely that "every person who willfully opens or reads . . . any sealed letter not addressed to himself . . . is guilty of a misdemeanor.'

When former President Jimmy Carter allowed Fidel Castro to send Cuban criminals to Florida in 1979, he did something California wouldn't permit because Section 173 makes it a misdemeanor to import foreign convicts.

I'll bet you thought that lynching was the hanging of someone for cattle rustling. Not so, says Section 405a. Lynching is "the taking by means of a riot of any person from the lawful custody of a peace officer." Lynching is a felony punishable by up to four years in prison.

What's the difference between a felony, a misdemeanor and an infraction? Simple. A felony is punishable by imprisonment in the state prison, a misdemeanor by imprisonment in a county jail for up to six months and an infraction is punishable by a fine only. (Sections 17, 19 and 19c.) Fines are also always a possibility in felony and misdemeanor crimes.

It's a misdemeanor to impersonate a veteran or ex-serviceman (Section 532b), to sign the name of another to a letter sent to a newspaper (Section 538a) or, without authorization, to wear the insignia of a secret, fraternal or religious order (Section 538b).

Being cruel to an idiot (Section 361), begging drinks in a bar (Section 303a) and dropping objects from a tollbridge (Secton 219.3) are likewise misdemeanors.

Dueling caught America's fancy when Aaron Burr killed Alexander Hamilton in 1804. Well, you can't do it in California because Section 227 makes it a felony to engage in a duel. Further, you can't challenge someone or "post or publish" another for not fighting a duel (Section 227). And you can't leave the state to avoid our anti-dueling law (Section 231). Do any of these dastardly deeds, you also lose your right to hold public office and to vote (Section 232).

Section 308 says that firms must conspicuously post a warning to the effect that cigarette sales to a minor under age 18 are prohibited. Such sales are misdemeanors. However, Section 308a says that the Director of Corrections or the Youth Authority *can* sell to persons over 16 if their parents consent.

Section 590 says that everyone who removes a milepost marker on a highway is guilty of a misdemeanor. Section 591 says that anyone who snitches on the person who removes a milepost marker is entitled to one half of the fine imposed.

What is obscenity? According to Section 311, it's "matter, taken as a whole, the predominant appeal of which to the average person, applying contemporary standards, is to prurient interest, i.e., a shameful or morbid interest in nudity, sex, or excretion, and is matter which taken as a whole goes substantially beyond customary limits of candor in description or representation of such matters, and is matter which taken as a whole is utterly without redeeming social importance."

If you ever cross a railroad at any private passway which is enclosed by a gate and you neglect to close and secure the gate behind you, you've committed a misdemeanor in violation of Section 369d. Also, leaving the carcass of a dead animal within 100 feet of a street or highway is similarly punishable (Section 374d), as is sightseeing at the scene of an emergency (Section 402) or the false labeling of kosher meat (Section 383b).

Disturbing a religious meeting is a misdemeanor (Section 302). So are the following: refusing to relinquish a party line (Section 384); abandoning a refrigerator without removing the door (Section 402b); sending a minor to a saloon (Section 273f); and implanting foreign materials within the scalp (Section 638a).

Ever threatened to sue someone? Make sure it's not a frivolous threat. Common Barratry is the practice of instigating groundless judicial proceedings and is punishable by six months in jail and a $1000 fine.

Section 649 prohibits a taxi driver from misdirecting a prospective hotel guest to an inn or hotel different from his instructions. Again, it's a misdemeanor. So is tatooing someone under 18 and publishing a reward offer "which has either as its sole object or as one of its objects, the apprehension or capture of a person either 'dead' or 'dead or alive' " (Section 652).

If you've decided to crumple up this article, tie it to a balloon, light it and release it into the air, be reminded that Penal Code Section 384g clearly states: "Every person who attaches a burning candle or other burning material to a balloon and then releases the balloon with the material attached into the air is guilty of a misdemeanor."

David Ross is deputy district attorney for Los Angeles County.

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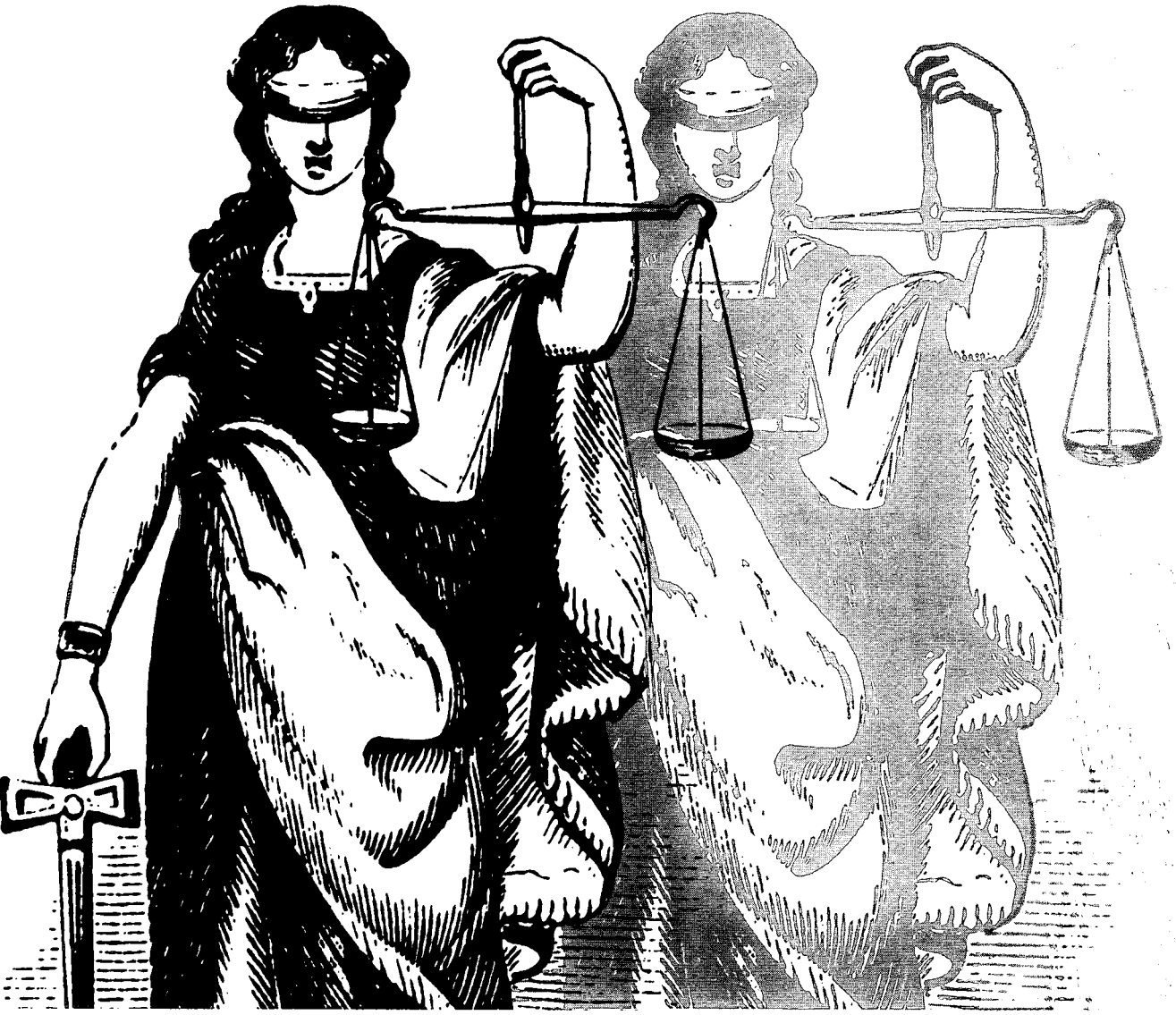

All Deukmejian's judges

By ANN BANCROFT

In his three years in office, Governor George Deukmejian has appointed nearly 290 judges to the California courts, all of whom, he proudly claims, have "common sense." Not a one has been seen wearing a funny hat on the bench, standing too long in the rain, or sentencing a convicted criminal to Arthur Murray classes instead of jail.

Of course, the governor has a loftier view of "common sense" when it comes to the appointment of judges. In speech after speech, Deukmejian has coupled the term with variations of the following statements:

". . . judges who are as concerned about the rights of the victims as they are about the rights of the accused." And ". . . common-sense judges, to start closing the loopholes and ending the leniency that has characterized California justice in the past."

Deukmejian, as former attorney general and perennial law-and-order campaigner, gives the impression that his judges are much more likely to throw the book at criminals than were those appointed by his predecessor, Jerry Brown.

Most observers from the legal community say there is no question Deukmejian's appointees are, in general, more conservative in their personal philosophies than the judges appointed by Brown. It also is no surprise that, while a majority of Deukmejian's appointees to the trial bench have some background as prosecutors, very few have served as public defenders or worked with county legal-aid organizations. For example, of Deukmejian's first 139 appointments to the superior courts, 70 had at one time in their careers been prosecutors (60 were once deputy district attorneys and 10 formerly worked in the state attorney general's office), while only three ever served as deputy public defenders. Seven listed on their resumès that they had practiced criminal defense law or worked with legal-aid organizations. Of Deukmejian's first 16 appointees to the appellate courts, however, only three were career prosecutors. Two had worked for prosecuting agencies at one time in their careers.

The typical Deukmejian court appointee is a white male; just 36 (12 per-

Ann Bancroft is a Capitol correspondent for the San Francisco Chronicle.

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Deukmejian's judges

Here is a breakdown of Deukmejian's judicial appointments as of December 6, 1985.

Category	Number	Percent
Males	252	87.5
Females	36	12.5
Black	11	3.8
Hispanic	9	3.1
Asian	7	2.4
Total	**288**	

Supreme Court	2
Appellate Court	18
Superior Court	142
Municipal Court	129

What is a "common sense judge?"

What *is* a "common sense judge?" From a variety of sources, here are a variety of definitions:

Marvin Baxter, Governor Deukmejian's appointments secretary: "A common sense judge is practical, able to see the trees and the forest, and has both feet on the ground. I don't view (common sense) as a political attribute at all."

Steve Merksamer, Deukmejian's chief of staff: "A common sense judge is an individual that uses his or her common sense in coming to a judicial determination, as opposed to relying on his own preconceived biases about the criminal justice system, or relying upon a desire to effect social change through the courts.,"

John Meehan, Alameda County district attorney, president, California District Attorney's Association: "Whose common sense? That's a political cliché. I would hope a political clichè would not determine (the governor's) decision on appointments."

Preble Stolz, law professor, Boalt Hall, former aide to Governor Jerry Brown: "I think (it means that Deukmejian) is still running against Jerry Brown. (But) if you appoint more than 250 people to the bench, one of them's eventually going to do something crazy. You can't avoid it."

Laurel Rest, deputy public defender, Alameda County, president of California Public Defenders Association: "According to whose common sense? I think Deukmejian's common sense may not be mine. I hate that expression. I find it so offensive."

Cecil Hicks, Orange County district attorney: "I would interpret it to mean that a judge has to know the law, has to interpret the language and statutes and cases, but does it in a sensible way, not some overdrawn manner putting unreal interpretations on it, but the way it was intended to be."

J. Anthony Kline, appellate court justice, San Francisco, former legal-affairs advisor to Governor Jerry Brown: "I don't want to speculate on what (Deukmejian) means. His use of (the term) may be suggesting that appointees of other governors lacked common sense. If so, I take serious disagreement with him, and I don't think people of knowledge would agree with him. Out of hundreds of judges, there may be a couple who, over a period of time, can be said to lack common sense, whatever that means."

Melvin Belli, criminal defense lawyer: "A common sense judge is someone who stands out in the pasture, chews his cud and puts his head down to be patted and told, 'nice old boy.' "

Justice Robert Thompson, retired, court of appeal, 2nd District, professor of law at USC: "Common sense judge? I don't know. I simply don't understand the thrust of that comment."

Ann Bancroft

cent) of Deukmejian's appointees have been female, 11 (3.8 percent) are blacks, nine are Hispanic and seven, Asian. In contrast, during his eight years as governor, Brown appointed 1012 judges; 83.5 percent of them were males, 16.6 percent women, 10 percent blacks, 7.6 percent Hispanics and 3.5 percent Asians. While Brown appointed some 350 former prosecutors to the bench, he also drew heavily from the ranks of former public defenders and legal aid organizations in making his appointments. The most notable example is Chief Justice Rose Bird, a former public defender from Santa Clara County.

Despite the surface differences, however, interviews with trial attorneys, judges and legal academics suggest there is no evidence Deukmejian's appointees are "tougher" on the bench than are judges appointed by Brown.

"The governor wants the public perception to be that he's appointing prosecutors who are hard-line," said Joseph Cotchett, a highly regarded trial attorney from San Mateo. "That's sheer, unadulterated nonsense because, unless there are two penal codes in this state, one of which I don't know about, they're all operating with the same book."

Observers also pointed out that even in sentencing criminals, judges have limited discretion, and they are bound by the narrowness of law as well as by peer pressure to take a moderate stance once on the bench.

Legal scholar Bernard Witkin said he sees "no difference of any substantial sort between (the appointees of) Deukmejian and Brown and their predecessors," and added, "No matter how imaginative a judge is, he doesn't make legislation." And Vernon Hunt, a Santa Ana attorney and chairman of the California Trial Lawyers Association committee on judicial selections, observed, "By and large, (Deukmejian's judges) are Republicans, so their philosophy is going to be different (from Brown's appointees), but I don't think they're any harsher."

Alameda County District Attorney John Meehan praised Deukmejian's judges as "objective, highly respected, ethical and sensitive."

"I think there was a feeling by a number of people that he'd come in and put an Attila on the bench," Meehan said. "Nothing could be further from the truth. All of his appointees have been fair in outlook and objective."

Critics

While most legal observers interviewed gave high marks to the overall quality of Deukmejian's court appointments, critics pointed to the small percentage of women and minorities he has

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appointed, and some contended that the heavy concentration of former prosecutors brings an unhealthy imbalance to the bench.

"He has not, in general, been appointing 'rabid' prosecutors," acknowledged Laurel Rest, president of the California Public Defenders Association and an Alameda County deputy public defender. "Although he has, certainly in this county, been making appointments straight out of the prosecutor's office, he has been appointing people that have a reputation for being reasonable rather than extreme," Rest added. "It could be a lot worse."

Marvin Baxter, Deukmejian's appointments secretary, said emphatically, "We're not interested in extremists on either side but rather common-sense people that have respect in the community."

Sensitive to criticism that Deukmejian is appointing few women and minorities to the bench, Baxter points out that he actively recruits judicial applicants from minority and women's bar associations, and that the approval rate for women and minorities who apply for judgeships is the same for white males — about 17 percent. Representatives of women and minority bar associations confirm that Baxter has actively sought applicants from their ranks.

"I really think Marvin Baxter would go out to a bar group of five women — that's how hard he's looking for them," said Josephine Fitzpatrick, a Long Beach family-law attorney and co-chair of California Women Lawyers' Judicial Appointments Committee. In the past 10 months the governor has appointed more women to the bench than he did during his entire first two years in office.

Baxter contended that for the Deukmejian administration to appoint as many women and minorities as the Brown administration did, "We'd have to go to a double standard, and that we're simply not going to do."

Baxter, an attorney from Fresno, spends all of his time reviewing applications for judgeships — some 2000 have been sent to the governor's office by now — weeding out potential candidates to submit to the State Bar for review, and interviewing finalists. In addition to seeking comment on applicants from local bar associations, the administration has established confidential judicial selection advisory boards in most large counties to review and evaluate applications. The boards, composed of judges, lawyers and law-enforcement officials, comment on the applicants' judicial philosophies and reputations, as well as their experience and qualifications. Their evaluations

MARVIN BAXTER

are made before applications are sent to the State Bar's Commission on Judicial Nominees Evaluation, whose review of potential appointees is mandatory under state law.

Party priority?

Although judicial candidates are asked their party affiliation, the administration refuses to make public the number of Republicans and Democrats appointed to the bench. "There are those who think a Republican governor should *only* appoint Republicans," said Baxter with a grin.

The governor has elevated several judges originally appointed by Brown, and appointed several Democrats to the bench, particularly in heavily-Democratic counties.

But, like governors before him, the vast majority of Deukmejian's appointees are from his own political party. A *California Journal* survey of more than a third of the governor's judicial appointments shows 81 percent are going to Republicans.

Deukmejian has also appointed three of his former law partners to the bench, including one of his two appointees to the Supreme Court — Justice Malcolm Lucas. All three received high recommendations from the State Bar.

Both of his appointments to the state Supreme Court, Lucas, and, most recently, Appellate Court Justice Edward A. Panelli, have received high marks from those in the legal community, regardless of their political stripe. Panelli, in fact, was initially an eleventh-hour appointment to the appeals court by Jerry Brown. However, Deukmejian blocked it when he took office but later appointed Panelli on his own.

Baxter declared that this administration's judicial recruitment process, which gives great weight to an applicant's reputation among his county's legal establishment, "replaces a system of checking with political operative-types."

Some of Deukmejian's appointees, however, were little known among those active in local legal circles before their appointments. Deukmejian appointed Brentwood attorney John Morey Allen to the municipal court in Contra Costa County's Delta Judicial District. Allen was a relative unknown in the county's legal circles until August 1982, when he represented a woman filing a lawsuit against Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, alleging that Bradley and his wife, Ethel, had defrauded Ethel Bradley's late cousin in a real estate deal. The case did not go to trial until after the 1982 gubernatorial election, but Allen took Bradley's deposition a month before the election. A year later, when the case went to trial, Allen dropped the case himself, alleging a lack of facts to proceed with the case. Five months later, Allen was appointed to the bench.

"We were aware of the fact that he had represented, I guess, family members in some litigation involving Bradley," said Baxter, "But that played absolutely no role in his appointment. He was rated well qualified by the State

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Bar. I recall cases where we've appointed individuals, applicants, who took cases adverse to individuals close to the administration and were appointed. That's an irrelevant factor, as far as I'm concerned."

Whose advice?

Unlike the Brown administration, Deukmejian's aides do not routinely solicit comment on judicial applicants from members of the California Trial Lawyers Association or from public defenders' offices. In Alameda County, for example, District Attorney Meehan said Baxter frequently calls his office to inquire about potential judges. Rest, however, said she would be "shocked" if the public defender's office ever received such a call.

Baxter acknowledged that a preponderance of Deukmejian's appointees to the trial bench have prosecution backgrounds, and said one of his "disappointments" is the difficulty of finding successful attorneys with lucrative civil practices to apply for judgeships.

"Of course, those involved in the law enforcement have always looked upon George Deukmejian as their leader, so it's only natural we would draw a lot from their ranks," Baxter added.

The governor's chief of staff, Steve Merksamer, reviews all of Baxter's choices for judicial finalists before both men discuss the applicants with Deukmejian. Both Merksamer and Baxter said the governor views his role in appointing judges as "extraordinarily" important, probably the most significant duty he has.

"I really can't imagine how a governor could be any more 'hands on' " when it comes to the appointment process, Baxter said. "I'm sure if he had the time, he'd be involved in the interviews, too."

The governor reviews computerized "abstracts" of each finalist for a spot on the bench, looking over lists of their supporters and detractors as well as qualifications and backgrounds. Once a selection is made, Deukmejian personally calls the applicant to congratulate him or her on the appointment. He once telephoned an applicant on her vacation in Vienna to notify her that she had been appointed a superior court judge.

"He has often said to me and others that one of the reasons he ran for governor was to appoint judges, to impact in a positive way the justice system, particularly the criminal justice system," Merksamer said.

Critics from the legal community say that Deukmejian's emphasis on criminal justice has given short-shrift on the bench to the many other important areas of the law.

Cotchett, an active Democrat who believes Jerry Brown made "some of the best and some of the worst court appointments in the history of the state of California," said of Deukmejian's appointments: "Unfortunately, in his zeal to appoint prosecutors to the bench, sometimes he has appointed deputy district attorneys totally lacking in any intellectual ability other than the courtroom process. What does a prosecutor understand about unfair business practices?"

Merksamer insisted there "hasn't been any deliberate effort" to recruit judges mainly from the ranks of prosecutors. "We're leaning toward people who will strictly enforce the law, who will fairly narrowly construe our constitution, who are as much concerned about the rights of victims as the rights of the accused," he said, repeating a phrase well-worn by his boss. "To the extent that a person with a public defender's office has that background, that person will be considered."

Law-enforcement background

Appellate Court Justice J. Anthony Kline, who was legal affairs secretary to Jerry Brown until his appointment to the bench in San Francisco, said, "In general, I think the quality of people (Deukmejian) has appointed has been good. If I have any criticism, it's not with what he has done, but what he hasn't done . . . I don't think he has adequately sought to maintain the same sort of balance that Brown did. Too many of his appointments come out of law enforcement.

"I'm not saying these are bad judges, but the appointment of so many of them has necessarily diminished the numbers of appointments with other backgrounds, and that there is a real value is having a diversity of backgrounds on the bench."

Most courtroom observers interviewed said that putting prosecutors on the bench is no guarantee of a court that is tougher on criminals; several said they noticed former prosecutors becoming more liberal, and former public defenders more conservative, once on the bench.

Observed Witkin, who has studied California courts for most of his 81 years: "If you took two surgeons, one an avid golfer, the other a deep sea diver, one a Mormon, the other a Seventh-Day Adventist, what in the hell would that have to do with their capacity to operate? (Likewise), the private philosophy of a judge as a citizen and an inhabitant of the globe is really of no consequence when it comes to his administering the law as a judge."

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Scoff and counter-scoff

Newspaper reporters: TV shortchanges politics
Television reporters: Sacramento overemphasizes itself

By ELIZABETH FERNANDEZ

The "Last Mohican" has moved to the basement.

Rent is 45 percent cheaper for an alcove near the elevator chute, located below the quarters of other media tenants in a highrise across from the Capitol. Finances are now a primary consideration to this self-styled survivor who is trying to outlive all his electronic colleagues – Thomas H. Woods was the last Sacramento representative of a Los Angeles radio or television station.

Then he, too, became obsolete.

Last year his former employer, KFWB, closed the radio bureau it opened nearly two decades ago, and ordered Woods south. Faced with a jarring reorientation, Woods decided to remain at the state's political hub and peddle himself as an independent radio reporter.

"I started here as a green kid out of San Jose State with a journalism degree in my hand and optimism in my eyes," says Woods, wiry and loquacious at 43. "Just when I thought I was on the home stretch, they closed me down. What would I do in LA? After covering everything from routine bureaucracy to traveling with the president, the notion of chasing a fire engine up Hollywood Boulevard is not very exciting."

But then the image of electronically-laden reporters trailing politicians under the Capitol dome does not inspire many news directors. Most broadcast executives, who measure news primarily on its visual or audio merits, consider Sacramento a source of platitudinous news – home to a stolid, sluggish and dull political scene.

"Government is by nature bureaucratic, uninteresting," says Harry Fuller, news director of KGO-TV in San Francisco. "It is people talking. And that is not as interesting as an event, whether it's a lost whale or people tearing down the Embarcadero."

With most Sacramento coverage focusing not on wandering whales but on legislative confabs, the market for out-of-town, company-owned television and radio bureaus has dwindled in the last decade from a dozen to two. Indeed, in the midst of expansion by some of their newspaper counterparts (*The Sacramento Bee*, for example, one of more than 50 newspapers whose reporters hold capital credentials, has increased the number of bureau reporters from eight to 12), the broadcast media has largely abandoned the Capitol, leaving the statehouse and its $30 billion bureaucracy primarily to local outlets and freelancers.

The bulk of the broadcast exodus has been to Southern California, which once was represented in Sacramento by a half-dozen stations. Now the Los Angeles area, with a potential audience of 10 million, lacks a single radio or television bureau in the state's capital.

As its network-affiliated competitors, one by one, departed Sacramento, KNBC-TV of Los Angeles remained stalwart until December 1980. Then, bureau chief and sole reporter Doug Kriegel was shipped home, along with

Elizabeth Fernandez is a reporter for the San Francisco Examiner.

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camera and sound technicians, ending a 14-year-old bureau.

"I wasn't happy with the decision," says Kriegel, now the station's economics editor. "It's better to have more information than less, for people to learn about how laws are made. There's no doubt about it. We lost a bit. Unfortunately the legislative process doesn't lend itself to television. Often the most important things about a bill happen in someone's office."

Kriegel tried to add a creative touch to the stock office shot by, among other methods, routinely planting his cameras outside Frank Fats' (restaurant) to chronicle the comings and goings of political wirepullers and machining lobbyists. Nonetheless, station executives said the camera crew was needed more in burgeoning Orange County.

"We just didn't think we were getting all the bang for the buck that we could with the crew here," says Tom Capra, news director for the station's 35 reporters.

The "buck," of course, is often the bottom line. A Sacramento television bureau costs an additional $60,000 a year, broadcasting officials say, far more expensive than dispatching a reporter north for quick visits. "You can buy a lot of tickets on PSA for that," Capra notes.

Some term the broadcasting void an unprofessional disregard for journalistic duty. "A black hole," says Woods. "It's shameful." Others prefer less to indict than to mourn.

"It bothers me a lot that more stations don't cover the Capitol," says Steve Swatt, political correspondent for KCRA-TV of Sacramento, a job that primarily entails coverage of state government but a title that permits forays into White House affairs. "They say it's a financial consideration. I think it's more a political consideration in the newsroom. It's very disappointing to me, and it's very upsetting. A lot of important stories are falling by the wayside."

Aside from the home-town stations, only two California broadcasters have Sacramento bureaus — KRON-TV and KGO-TV, the former here for six years, the latter not quite two years — hardly what Swatt calls "the glory days." That time dates to 1967 when the state's political system shifted from a part-time, good-ole-boy Legislature to a full-time, quasi-professional entity. That year Ronald Reagan moved into the statehouse, bringing with him a bracing blend of cinematic charm and political populism — an irresistible combination to broadcasters.

The Reagan years coincided with television itself coming of age. Use of color became commonplace, enlivening the inborn grayness of government. Emerging technology — mini-cams, instant-image videotape, portable satellite dishes — enabled correspondents to broadcast live, giving even politics that sense of on-the-scene urgency broadcasters crave. And local television news, under the direction of a new breed of producers, rose in popularity, ending its role as a loss leader for the evening's sit-coms. News sold, and Sacramento was the place to get it.

With about a dozen radio and television stations operating full-time bureaus in the capital, the press heyday continued into Governor Jerry Brown's first term. Then in the late 1970s, when the luster of moonbeam politics began to fade, the stations gradually retreated.

Victim of success

"I think television news became a victim of its own success," says Swatt. "A major focus then became good ratings. The so-called experts were called in and took some surveys. They said that the public didn't care about politics, that it was impossible to bring to life . . . So many news directors thought why should they put on two minutes of boring news and risk the viewer changing channels."

The result, say press watchdogs, is anemic coverage of the state's political center. The lethargy so troubles Republican Assemblyman Larry Stirling of San Diego that he recently revived plans to launch a government-run cable station out of the Capitol (see "Wiring the Legislature," *CJ*, December 1985). In a September letter outlining the details to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, Stirling wrote: "Too often we find ourselves the object of television cameras only when we are not at our best. That, I think we both will agree, is only a very miniscule portion of the time we spend together agreeing on solutions to the problems that face California. Let's make sure that the public has an opportunity to see our good side."

Stirling maintains that his intent is only to enable the public to check in on government and ensure for themselves that the democratic process is at fine tune. "Am I concerned that the coverage is inadequate?" he said in an interview. "Yes I am. Do I just want to show off Larry Stirling on the floor? I think I'll be long gone before this thing is put in place."

Among the dozens of newspaper reporters based in Sacramento, criticism of the electronic media also runs high. Indeed, the traditional battle between the ink-stained wretches and the blow-

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dried broadcasters rages vigorously in Sacramento, leading freelance radio correspondent Karen Stanley to ponder, "I wonder how much they respect electronic journalists?"

Very little, says Steve Capps of the *San Francisco Examiner*. "They'll shove you out of the way. They aren't very civilized, more like animals."

Still, most newspaper reporters could tolerate what they see as the ill-manners of their electronic brethren if they thought they did their job well. They don't.

"It's the biggest single problem and it dwarfs all others," says Ed Salzman, a former Capitol bureau chief for McClatchy newspapers. "A hell of a lot of people get all their news from television. And television, for all practical purposes, is non-existent when it comes to covering the Capital. I don't think stations are willing to give the economic and journalistic effort to do the coverage."

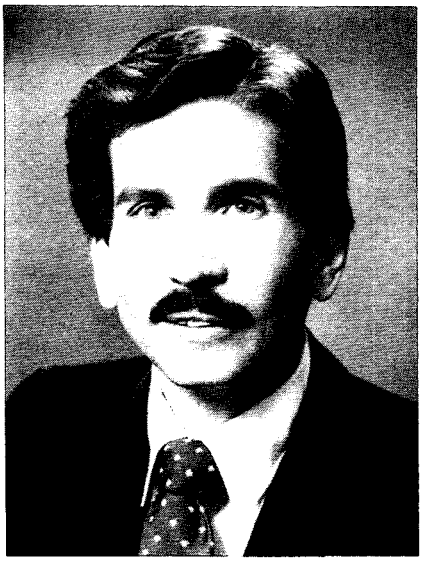
Overly important

In biting retort, broadcasters say Sacramento overemphasizes its own importance. Because politics is its central commodity, the town is unduly myopic, they say. When stories warrant coverage, radio and television stations say, they cover them; network affiliates share those stories, simplifying the task. At least once a week, says Tom Capra of KNBC, the station hires a freelance crew in Sacramento and sends a reporter up.

Now that Tom Woods is not a staff employee, radio station KFWB says it will rely on his freelance stories which he plans to sell to as many clients as he can. "Maybe we won't get the story as rapidly," says executive editor Fred Walters. "Maybe we'll have to wait 15 or 20 minutes if the stringer sends the story first to another station. But we won't lose basic coverage."

Pat Davis, though, who works full-time for KRAK radio of Sacramento and freelances for several out-of-town stations, takes issue, pointing out that immediacy is the hallmark of radio. Moreover, he says, even the *Los Angeles Times* and the Associated Press, with nine and seven reporters, respectively, can't cover all the bases.

"For a one-man bureau there is never enough time. From the time you arrive in the morning, you're running scared. At the end of the day, you hope you've given the broad picture, but you know that there are stories you've missed. Sometimes we file a story every hour. We don't have time to go underneath it much. I've just got to get the nuts and bolts of it, the essentials, and then erase it from my mind because another story has to be done. You're in a rat race



THOMAS WOODS

and sometimes the rats win."

For its part, KPIX-TV of San Francisco, the only one of the city's three major stations not to maintain a Sacramento bureau, says it attempts to sort out political issues in the studio.

"There are times when we feel it's necessary to have a reporter in Sacramento," says executive news producer David Lippoff. "But there are other times when we feel we don't have to put a microphone under a legislator's nose. I think if you can do stories on how people are going to be affected by a piece of legislation, it is more meaningful to people."

That philosophy hasn't hurt KPIX in the ratings. To the contrary, A. C. Nielsen rates the station's 6 and 11 p.m. news shows first in San Francisco.

Not all Sacramento news bureaus are here for the politics, however. KGO-TV of San Francisco, for example, runs a "regional" operation, not concerned solely with the Legislature, but branches out often to cover other news in the area.

"I hate to tell you this but Sacramento is not a prestigious address," says KGO news director Harry Fuller. "It's a matter of practicality. You want your reporters to be where the news is. It's a question of covering news on a day-to-day basis. If 10 stories a week came from Lodi, we would probably open a bureau in Lodi."

Part of radio and television's reluctance to monitor the Capital is inherent to the medium.

"You're literally competing with the latest Michael Jackson Pepsi commercial," says Ginger Rutland, capitol correspondent for KRON for six years. "Those commercials cost several million dollars to make, and then you come up right after with Alister McAlister discussing third-party liability and earthquake insurance. It's a tough act to follow and to make it palatable to the viewer."

The answer is easy, says freelancer Karen Stanley, who represents four stations. Select stories that hit people in the pocketbook — taxes — or in the bedroom — gay rights.

"When you have only 45 seconds or less to tell the story, you choose your words very well," she says. "If you try to put on a civics lesson, you're going to lose your listeners."

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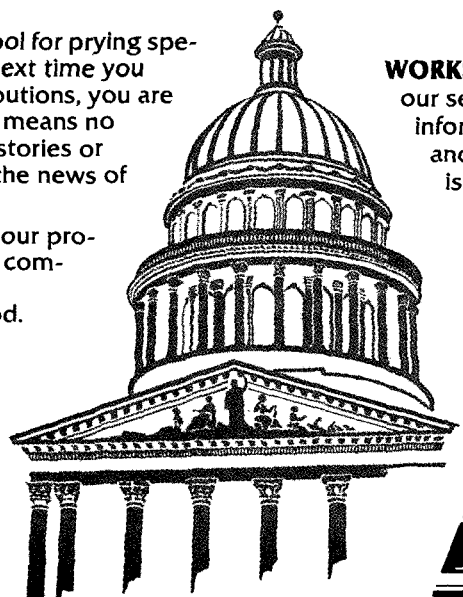

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CAPITOL MONTH

(A review of top stories during the preceding 30 days.)

GOVERNOR HIRES EASTERN FIRM

(November 18th): Governor George Deukmejian announced that a New York political-consulting firm, Ailes Communications, would handle public relations for his 1986 reelection bid. That left the whiz-kid duo of Sal Russo and Doug Watts on the sidelines for the governor's forthcoming campaign. The Sacramento-based Russo Watts & Associates took over the governor's 1982 campaign at the eleventh hour and helped steer the then-trailing GOP candidate to a surprise victory over Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley. Administration officials, as well as Russo and Watts, maintained that the pair would continue to give unofficial, informal advice to the campaign. Ailes most-recent triumph was the 1985 reelection of New Jersey Governor Thomas Kean. He has never run a statewide campaign in California.

FBI PROBES TOXIC CLEAN-UP EFFORT

(November 20th): The *Los Angeles Times* revealed that the FBI has launched an investigation of contracting practices at federal Superfund hazardous-wasted clean-up sites managed by the Deukmejian adminstration. According to the *Times*, the FBI is looking into, among other things, whether the state's contracting procedures are so loose as to invite abuse of federal tax dollars. (In a related matter, the governor named a "high-level, non-partisan" task force to come up with technological and policy proposals to deal with hazardous-waste clean-up throughout the state. The task force is to present its recommendations by May 1st. The governor's actions were aimed at diffusing the toxic issue on the eve of his reelection campaign.)

BIRD GOES ON THE ATTACK

(November 22nd): In a series of identical interviews given to many of the state's leading newspapers, Chief Justice Rose Bird characterized her political opponents as "bully boys" and likened them to U.S. Attorney General Ed Meese and others who, Bird said, would like to control state and federal courts. In response, Ed Jagels of Crime Victims for Court Reform, one of the groups seeking Bird's defeat in November's confirmation election, said that Bird should be discussing her record on the Court rather than attacking her opponents. (In a related matter, Sonoma County District Attorney Gene Tunney, son of the former heavyweight champion and brother of the former U.S. senator, said that Bird's confirmation could lead to an outbreak of vigilantism. His remarks were characterized by Bird supporters as an unwarranted threat to law and order.)

ZSCHAU MAKES IT OFFICIAL

(November 25th): Congressman Ed Zschau of Los Altos announced that he would seek the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate in 1986. Zschau, a 45-year-old former businessman, is known as a congressional moderate. He joins three other declared candidates: state Senator Ed Davis of Chatsworth, economist Arthur Laffer and Assemblyman Robert Naylor of Menlo Park. According to campaign officials, Zschau has already banked over $1 million for the race. Money notwithstanding, polls generally show him trailing all other candidates. (Two more Republicans joined the fray in December: Los Angeles County Supervisor Mike Antonovich on December 5th and Congressman William Dannemeyer of Fullerton on the 9th.)

MORIARTY AIDE GETS FOUR YEARS

(November 26th): Richard Raymond Keith, a former aide to Orange County businessman W. Patrick Moriarty, was sentenced to four years in prison and fined $45,000 for his part in political corruption schemes that Moriarty, too, has admitted. In sentencing Keith, federal District Judge Terry Hatter Jr. called for a special grand jury to look into all charges that have surfaced during the prolonged investigation of Moriarty's activities (see "The Moriarty scandals," *CJ*, March 1985).

LA DECLARED A REFUGEE SANCTUARY

(November 28th): The Los Angeles City Council adopted a resolution declaring the city a "sanctuary" for Central Americans fleeing political persecution and violence in their homelands. If signed by Mayor Tom Bradley, it will instruct city officials not to voluntarily assist federal immigration officials in finding illegal aliens from countries like Guatemala and El Salvador. It would also allow city employees to ignore a person's refugee status when providing public services. The resolution passed by an 8-6 vote after a heated and emotional debate.

STANFORD RUNS FOR CONTROLLER

(December 9th): Dan Stanford, chairman of the state Fair Political Practices Commission, resigned his post and announced that he will seek the Republican nomination for state controller. If successful, he will run in November against three-term incumbent Controller Ken Cory. Stanford, a 35-year-old San Diego lawyer, was appointed to the FPPC by Governor Deukmejian in 1982.

HEDGECOCK SENTENCED, QUITS

(December 10th): The twisted legal and political saga of San Diego Mayor Roger Hedgecock ended as the 39-year-old Republican was sentenced to one year in the custody of the San Diego County sheriff, fined $1000 and placed on three years' probation. Only moments before, Hedgecock, as required by law, resigned his office. Hedgecock had been convicted on October 9th of perjury and conspiracy charges, but a jury-tampering allegation threw his conviction into doubt. Following those allegations, Hedgecock sought to have the trial judge removed from the case, but his appeals to an appellate court and to the state Supreme Court failed.

ALATORRE ELECTED TO LA COUNCIL

(December 10th): Democratic Assemblyman Richard Alatorre swept to victory in a special election to replace Art Snyder on the Los Angeles City Council (see "Alatorre's risky switch," *CJ*, December 1985). He becomes the first Hispanic to serve on the council in nearly 25 years. Along the way, Alatorre captured almost 60 percent of the vote to prevent a run-off with one of his five challengers. The only Republican in the non-partisan race was Gil Avila, former advisor to Governor Deukmejian, who finished a distant third.

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Perspective from WASHINGTON

By Leo Rennert

And then there were six . . .

President Reagan is losing patience with California's controversial "unitary" method of taxing multi-national corporations and wants Congress to lower the boom on his home state. After pressuring California and other "unitary" states for the last two years to change their corporate tax systems, the White House upped the ante and decided to use the full authority of the federal government to bring recalcitrant states into line. To reach this point, Reagan had to perform a spectacular ideological flip-flop, jettisoning long-held state's-rights beliefs to appease major trading partners like Britain and Japan that are determined to wipe out Sacramento's power to dictate tax policy to London- or Tokyo-based businesses. With Reagan's latest shove, the odds decidedly favor the multi-nationals.

THE FIGHT OVER "UNITARY" TAXATION has spanned more than a generation. California and other states which rely on this particular system levy corporate taxes on the basis of a firm's worldwide earnings. If 10 percent of a company's staff, sales and fixed assets are in California, Sacramento slaps its corporate tax on 10 percent of that firm's global profits. Most multi-nationals have been howling for decades that this is patently unfair and represents "double taxation." Only their earnings in California, they argue, should be subject to California taxes. How their business fares in Latin America, Asia or Europe is beyond the proper jurisdiction of a state government in the USA. California's traditional response has been that, if it were to limit its taxing scrutiny to its own territory, globe-spanning firms easily could resort to creative accounting at tax time and shift assets and profits to tax havens overseas to keep from paying their fair share to the state's treasury. Only by looking at all the books can California satisfy itself that it's not being taken for a ride. State officials estimate that elimination of "unitary" taxation would cost California $500 million a year. So the stakes are fairly high — for both sides.

When Reagan was governor, he was quick to tell Washington to keep its hands off the state till. "Federal intervention in state tax matters is objectionable in principle," he wrote California's congressional delegation in 1967, when he wrestled with fiscal problems in Sacramento and struggled to hang on to "unitary" taxes. Since then, while California staved off numerous assaults in Congress and in the courts, multi-nationals with strong backing from home governments have kept pounding away until they gradually moved within sight of victory. Now, it's no longer a question of whether they will win — but when and on what terms. Their first big break came when Reagan's successor in Sacramento, Jerry Brown, abandoned California's historic stance and his own initial support for "unitary" taxes. After returning from a business-scouting trip to Japan, Brown said he was convinced that California would create a better business climate and attract more foreign investment if it changed its tax system. After California voters staged their own tax rebellion with Proposition 13 in 1978, Brown grew panicky about further loss of public revenues and reverted to his earlier pro-"unitary" position. But the damage was done. Brown had given the opposition a new cachet to public-interest respectability.

When George Deukmejian came to bat, the fire had gone out of California's come-what-may adherence to "unitary" taxes. The time was ripe for graceful capitulation. In Washington, Reagan switched sides under relentless pressure from London and Tokyo. At every annual economic summit, Britain's Margaret Thatcher and Japan's Yasuhiro Nakasone — the president's closest friends on the world scene — lobbied to bring California to heel. There were barely disguised threats to punish American businesses if they didn't get their way. In Sacramento the Legislature, helped along by generous corporate contributions, also said farewell to old principles and set the stage for accommodation. Only a last-minute hitch, involving maneuvers over an anti-apartheid bill, averted a final resolution of the dispute at the last session.

But the White House couldn't wait for the Legislature's return. Even though the number of "unitary" states dwindled from 12 to six during the last two years, the British were fed up with California's position and threatened to retaliate by withdrawing tax credits from American-based multi-nationals operating on their soil.

To gain more time and soothe London's ruffled feathers, Reagan announced that he will ask Congress to step in and limit the reach of state taxes to the "water's edge" — to business earnings in the United States but not abroad. To sweeten the deal for "unitary" states, he also included in his bill a provision to require multi-nationals to make more extensive disclosure of earnings to the Internal Revenue Service, which would pass on this information to state tax-collecting agencies as a hedge against artful cheating. Such a deal actually had been put together earlier by a federal-state task force convened by the Treasury Department, but state officials balked at compliance, charging Washington was dragging its feet on providing more IRS intelligence on multi-national business operations.

WHETHER CALIFORNIA CAN STOP REAGAN'S bill on Capitol Hill — or even wants to — is uncertain. The president's move may be the final shove needed for Deukmejian and the Legislature to end California's imposition of worldwide "unitary" taxes. Besides California, the fast-shrinking group of "unitary" states includes only Alaska, Idaho, Montana, New Hampshire and North Dakota. If California, with all its economic strength, falls, the ballgame is over. "It is an historical irony that after 200 years Great Britain again seeks to impose a tax policy" on the American states, the National Conference of State Legislatures declared in a protest letter to Congress.

But the impending demise of "unitary" taxes does not signal the revival of George III. London, Tokyo, Washington and Sacramento are only supporting players in this drama. The lead parts belong to high-flying multi-nationals which bend the power of state and national governments to their own purposes. They are the new sovereigns.

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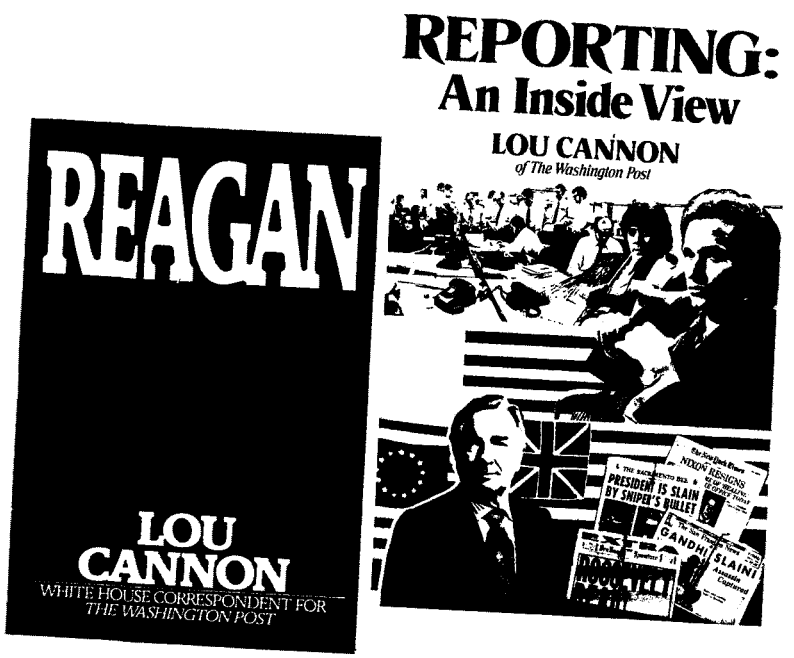

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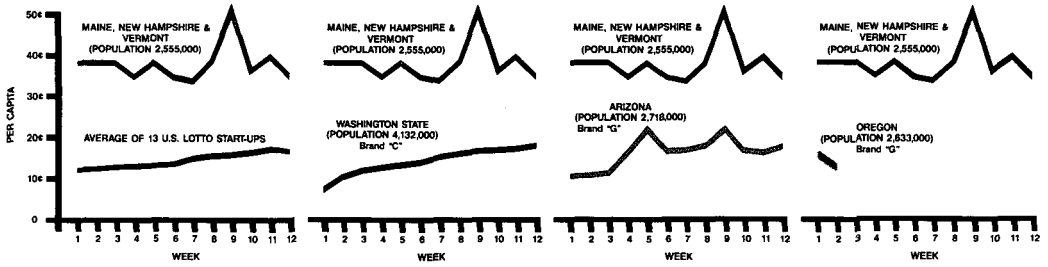

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